THE ANNUAL

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. XXVII.

SESSION 1925–1926

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LIBRI DESIDERATI.

As the funds at the disposal of the School do not allow an adequate grant for the purchase of books for the Library, the Committee desire to draw attention to the following urgent needs :—

Foreign Publications.

NOACK, Eleusis, Baugeschichtliche Entwickelung.
JACOBSTHAL, Ornamente Griechischer Vasen (text and plates).
A. RUMPF, Chalkidische Vasen.
CORPUS VASORUM (for all Foreign Museums).
W. DÖRPFELD, Alt-Ithaka.
A. DE RIDDER, Les Bronzes Antiques du Louvre.
F. PREISIGKE, Wörterbuch der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden.
MAYSER, Grammatik der Papyri der Ptolemäischen Zeit, vols. i, ii.
WALDHAUER, Die Antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage, Teil I, 1928.
DUCATI, Storia dell' Arte Etrusca.
DUCATI, Storia della Ceramica Greca.

REPORT ON EXCAVATIONS AT THE TOUMBA AND TABLES OF VARDARÓFTSA, MACEDONIA, 1925, 1926.

(PLATES I–XXII.)

PART I.—THE TOUMBA.

List of abbreviations of works to which reference is frequently made :—

P. T. = Wace and Thompson : *Prehistoric Thessaly.*
Korákou = Blegen : *Korákou.*
Rey = Rey : *Observations sur les premiers habitats de la Macédoine.* (*B.C.H.*, Vol. 41–43, 1917–19.)
Várdino = *Report on Excavation.* (*Liverpool Annals*, xii. pp. 15–36.)
Kilindir = Casson : *Excavations in Macedonia.* (*Antiquaries' Journal*, vi. pp. 59–72.)
Chauchitza = Casson : *Bronze Age in Macedonia.* (*Archaeologia*, lxxiv. pp. 73–88.)
B.M. Cat. = Forsdyke : *British Museum Catalogue of Vases*, Vol. I. Part 1. Prehistoric Aegean Pottery.
S. S. = Schmidt : *Schliemanns Sammlung.*
A. J. = *Early Iron Age Pottery from Macedonia.* (*Antiquaries' Journal*, vii. pp. 44–59.)
Frankfort = *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East, II.*
Childe = *Dawn of European Civilization.*

INTRODUCTORY.

THE Toumba and Tables of Vardaróftsa lie at the south end of a ridge that separates Lake Amátovo and the Vardár river (Fig. 1), some 35 kilometres N.W. of Salonika (Fig. 2). To south and east the

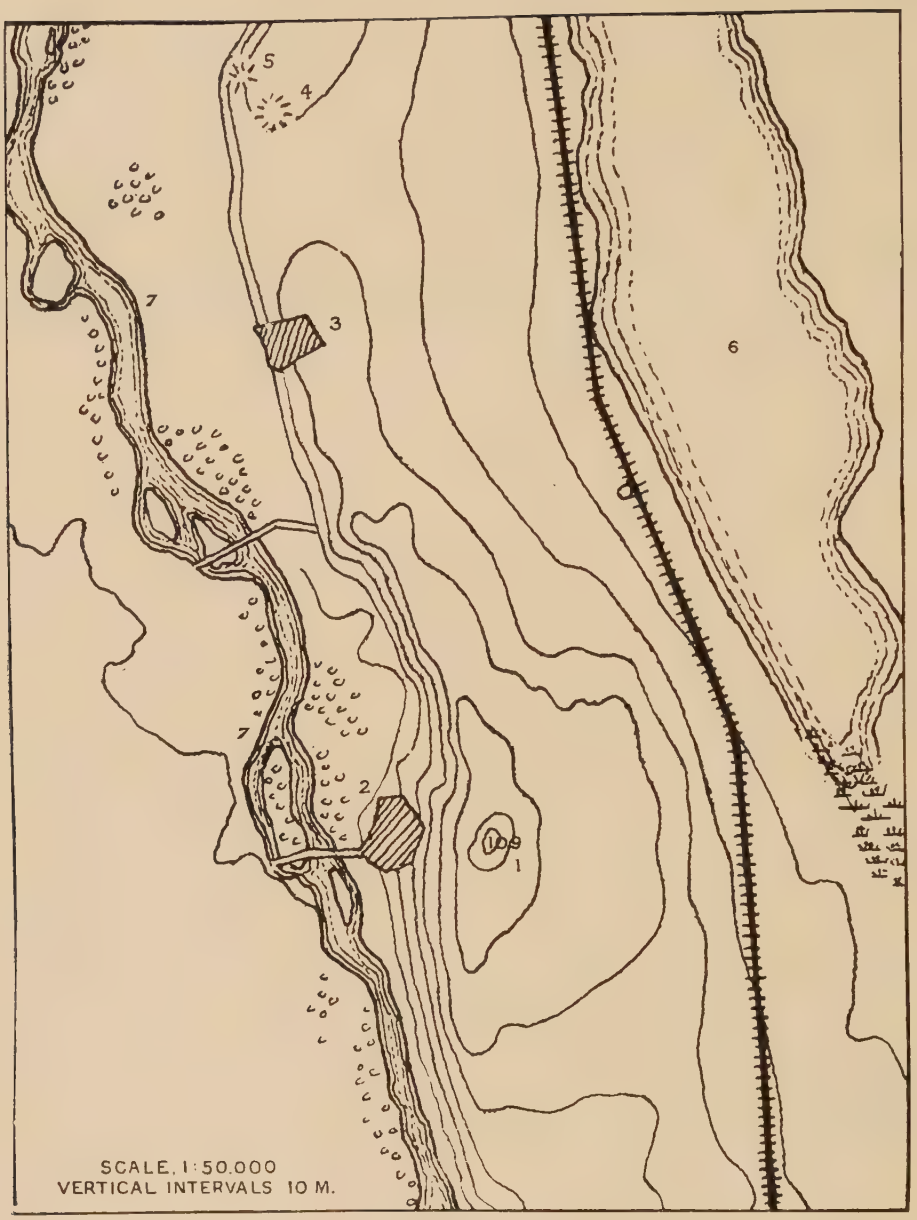

Fig. 1.—Map of District. (Reproduced from Allied Military Survey 1918)

1. Toumba and Table of Vardaróftsa. 2. Vardaróftsa Village.
3. Amátovo Village. 4. Table of Amátovo. 5. Toumba of Amátovo.
6. Lake Amátovo. 7. R. Vardár.

109 = Height in metres above sea-level.

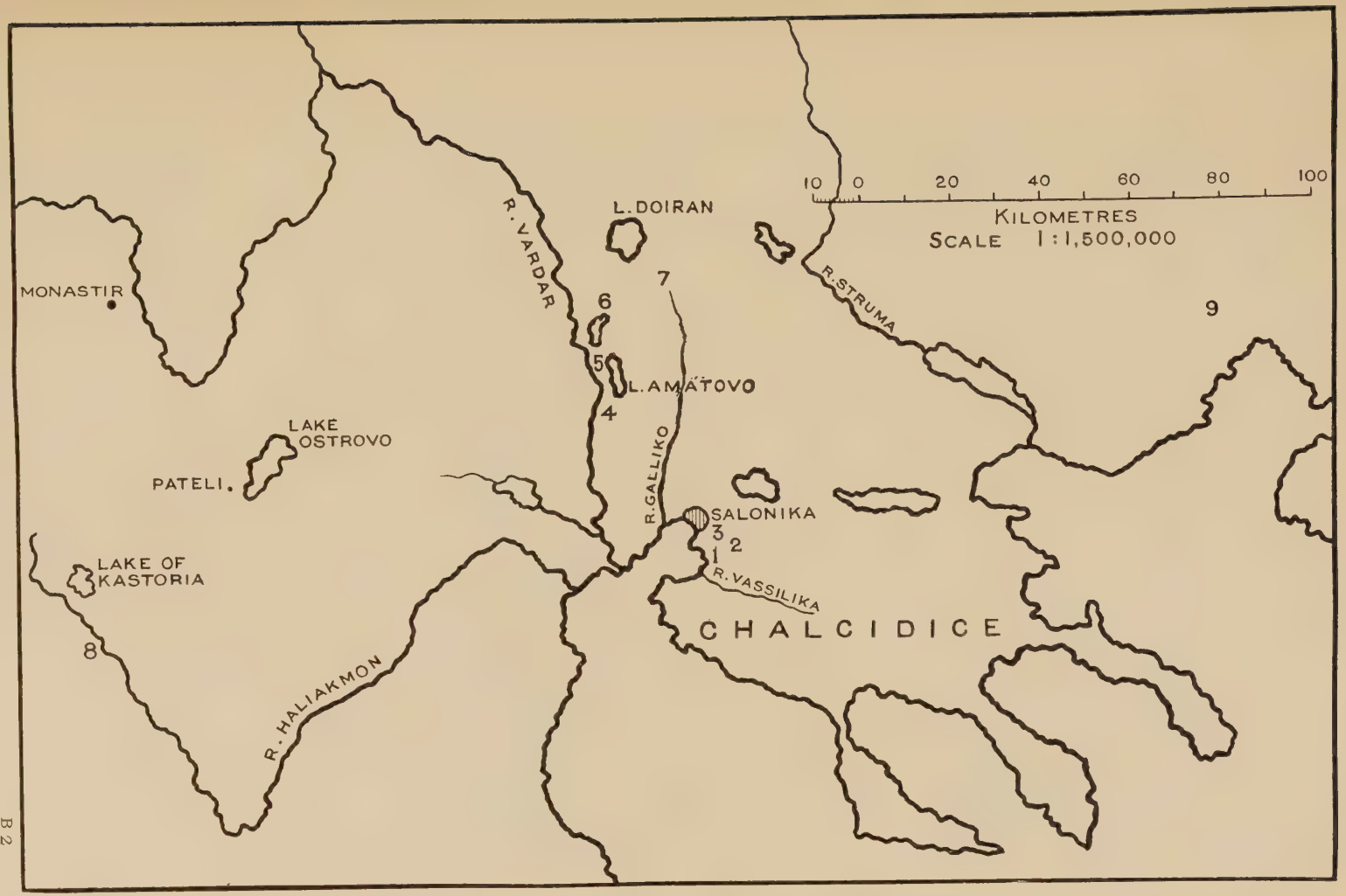

FIG. 2.—SKETCH-MAP OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN MACEDONIA, SHEWING EXCAVATED SITES.

(1) Gona. (2) Sedes. (3) Kapoudjilar. (4) Vardaróftsa. (5) Várdino. (6) Chauchitza. (7) Kilindir. (8) Boubousta. (9) Dikilitash.

ridge falls gently to the lower levels; more abruptly on the west to the river's edge. Northward, the ridge extends to where the Toumba of Várdino crowns its other extremity, looking down on the flats round Karasouli.[1]

Between the Toumba of Vardaróftsa and the river, where now stand the village church and a few houses, rises the fine spring which no doubt attracted the original settlers to the site and assured its continuous occupation. A further reason for the selection of the site was perhaps the fact that the river is easily fordable at this point, and travellers passing from the Struma valley into Western Macedonia would make the crossing here. In Homeric times, when the Vardár formed the frontier of Priam's kingdom, the place must have had strategic importance, and in later times, when the successive settlements had raised the artificial mass high above the surrounding level, it must have offered a valuable strong-point from which the whole country-side could be commanded.[2]

The excavation was spread over two campaigns, of about one month each—March 1925 and March 1926. In the first campaign the following took part: Miss W. Lamb, Mr. H. H. Keen, both of whom came out from England for the purpose, and Mr. W. L. Cuttle: in the second, Mr. R. W. Hutchinson and Mr. W. L. Cuttle; and, for part of the time, Mr. G. A. D. Tait. The party lived under canvas on both occasions, and the duties of caterer and cook were performed by Mrs. Heurtley, often under great difficulties, and always with admirable efficiency.

The expenses of the excavation were met by generous grants from the British School at Athens (Macedonian Exploration Fund), Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; and the assistance of Mr. Cuttle in 1926 was made possible by a grant from Emmanuel College, Cambridge. To these bodies we express our grateful thanks, as well as to the following individuals, for help or hospitality—M. Pelekides, Ephor of Antiquities of Macedonia, Miss O'Connell, Mr. Robertson of the Foundation Company at Amátovo, and to Stavros Adamides, Proedros of Vardaróftsa village, from which our willing and capable workmen were drawn.

[1] Fig. 3 is a sketch taken from the north of the Toumba of Várdino (excavated in 1924), and shews the alignment of the mounds along the ridge. The Toumba and Table of Amátovo are in the middle distance, Vardaróftsa on the sky-line to the left. On the right is the Vardár valley with Mt. Olympus in the background.

[2] Fig 4. A view of the Toumba and High Table taken from the Low Table to the south.

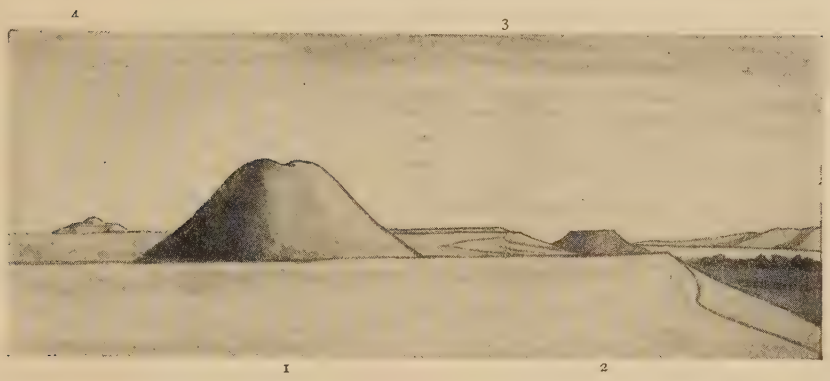

FIG. 3.—SKETCH TAKEN FROM NORTH OF VÁRDINO.

1. TOUMBA OF VÁRDINO. 2. TOUMBA OF AMÁTOVO.
3. TABLE OF AMÁTOVO. 4. TOUMBA AND TABLES OF VARDARÓFTSA.

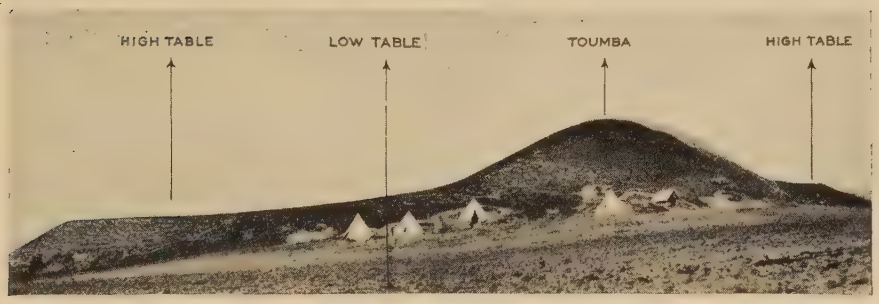

FIG. 4.—VIEW TAKEN FROM LOW TABLE.

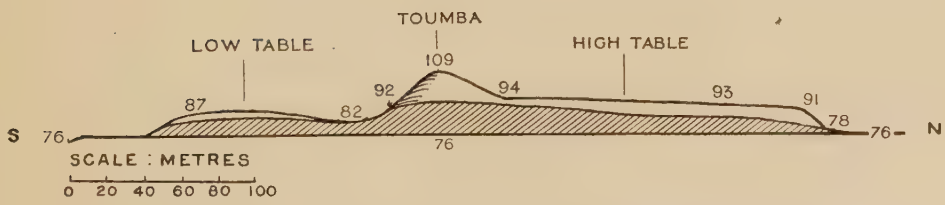

FIG. 5.—SECTION OF TOUMBA AND TABLES ALONG CENTRAL NORTH AND SOUTH LINE.

As the mention of dogs in excavation reports is not unprecedented,[1] last (if least), the services of the dog Kish-Kim may be recognised here, who guarded our tents and beguiled our hours of ease.

The superficial character of the site is well described by Rey,[2] and our own observations have confirmed the general accuracy of his description. His estimate, however, that on the south, virgin soil is 20 m. below the highest point of the Toumba was not true for our own pits on that side, in both of which virgin soil was reached at 17·50 m. In our only pit on the E. side, though virgin soil was not reached, the stratification at a depth of 16 m. corresponded sufficiently closely to that in the other pits at the same depth, to justify the inference that virgin soil on this side also is about 17 m. below the highest point.[3] In excavating a toumba like Vardaróftsa, of wide area and great depth, it was not possible, with such limited time and means as ours, to clear a large surface, and the work should not be regarded as more than a trial excavation. It would not have been possible to lay bare complete house-foundations, nor, in the few cases where such foundations appeared, did we attempt to do so. Our object was primarily to obtain a complete sequence of pottery.

In the campaign of 1925 a continuous trench was dug, starting 4 m. west of the highest point, and carried out to the surface on the east to a depth of 4 m. (§§ I–VI, Figs. 6, 7). The High and Low Table were tested by Miss Lamb (A, B, C, D), who also plotted the trenches and pits (Fig. 6).[4] In the campaign of 1926 the main trench on the Toumba was carried down in Sectors V and VI to a depth of 11 m. and 7 m. respectively; and in Sectors VIII and IX to a depth of 9 m. and 14 m. respectively. Sectors V and VI were abandoned partly on account of their unproductiveness and partly on account of the difficulty of getting away the earth. The South Pit was begun at 11 m. below the highest point and carried down to virgin soil (17·50 m.). The South-Eastern Pit was begun at 15·50 m. in order to discover virgin soil, which was also reached at 17·50 m. Finally, the north-eastern side of the Toumba was tested by a pit (N.E. pit) beginning at 14 m. in order to discover the relation of the Toumba to the High Table. This pit had reached the

[1] *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 187.
[2] Part I, pp. 27–32. Figs. 15–17, Planches IV, V.
[3] Fig. 5 illustrates the relation of the artificial deposit to the natural soil.
[4] For the use of the plan we are indebted to M. Rey.

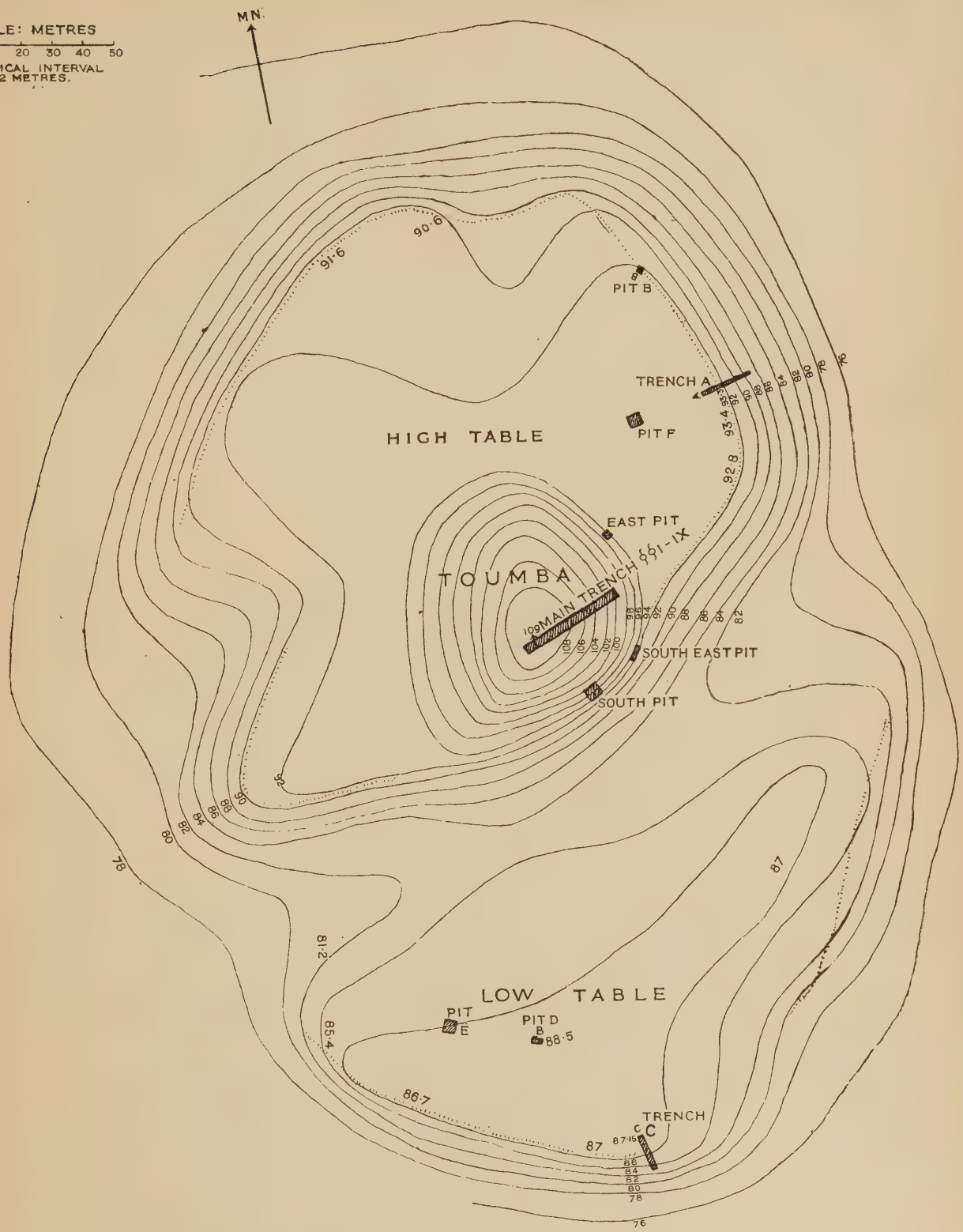

Fig. 6.—Plan of Toumba and Tables.

depth of 16 m. when the campaign came to an end. The Low Table was re-examined, and Mr. Cuttle continued the exploration of the High Table, carrying down a pit (F) to virgin soil. The results of his and of Miss Lamb's work on the High and Low Tables will be published in the second part of this report.

Fig. 7 shews the various pits in section, the successive occupation-levels and the remains of buildings. A detailed description of each pit, shewing the various changes of soil, etc., with a diagram, is unavoidably held over to Part II. Here, only a general account of the main stratigraphic features will be given. In general, the changes in one pit corresponded closely to those in the other. The lie of the strata was everywhere horizontal except close to the surface; there were few traces that they had been disturbed, and we feel confident that the order of the finds represents truly the successive stages of occupation.

The main stratigraphic features are as follows :—

Virgin soil to 16 m. Settlements 1–3.

From virgin soil to about 15·75 m. the deposit consisted of closely alternating layers of ashes, carbonised clay, brown clay with carbonised reeds, yellow clay and clay burnt a brick-red colour—the debris of successive wattle-and-daub huts. At 16·50 m. in both the S. and S.E. Pits appeared layers of mussel shells. To judge by the strata, some three settlements must be represented between virgin soil and 16 m.

16 m. Settlement 4.

At 16 m. in the S. Pit appeared a single course of stones (the first use of stone for building), a flat blackened stone and a cache of miniature vases.

15·50–5·50 m. Settlements 5–15.

From this point to 5·50 m. the settlements follow one another at fairly regular intervals of about one metre each. We found stone foundations again at 15·25 m. in the S. Pit, where a large mass of stones was cleared (though we could not determine the shape of the building to which they belonged). Above that point, the settlements are indicated by groups of stones, evidently hearths, with which pithoi, charred grain, carbonised beams, grindstones, and flat stones (beam supports) were usually associated.

At 10·50 m. in Sector IX, and at 8·50 m. in Sector VIII, the remains of brick terraces were uncovered. The vertical beams and beam-sockets which were found in these constructions shew that they were platforms on which houses were erected.

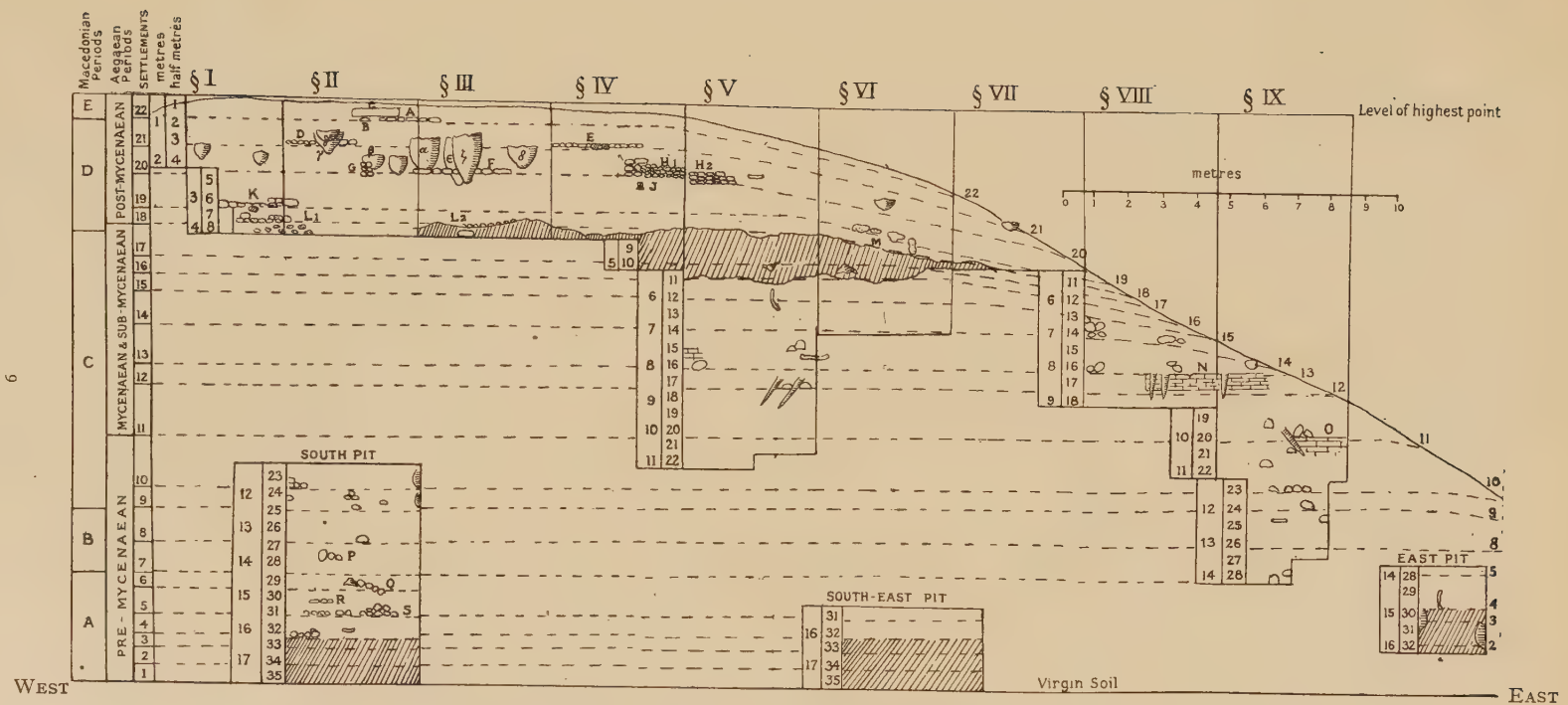

FIG. 7.—SECTION OF TOUMBA, SHEWING EXCAVATED AREA, SETTLEMENTS, REMAINS OF BUILDINGS ETC.

ca. 5·50–4 m. Settlements 16, 17.

At 5·50 m. the regular succession of settlements gives place to a layer about one metre thick and apparently running over the whole mound, composed entirely of the debris of burnt reed-huts. Two settlements at least are represented, both destroyed by fire. Among the debris were numerous cooking-pots, store-jars, charred grain, etc.

4—3·60 m. Settlement 18.

Above this layer of debris a single course of stones in Sector I was evidently the foundation of a rectangular building, and in Sector III a large isolated stone, probably to support a beam, stood in close proximity to a floor of cobbles.

3·25 m. Settlement 19.

At 3·25 m. another stone foundation wall was found in Sector I, immediately above the earlier wall. A cooking-pot *in situ* in Sector II belongs to the same settlement.

2·25 m. Settlement 20.

At 2·25 m. a stone foundation wall appeared in Sector III and a wall of six courses in Sector II: in Sector IV a house-wall of four courses, and another wall of three courses at a slightly lower level in Sector V.

1·40 m. Settlement 21.

At 1·40 m. a stone foundation wall appeared in Sector II, and in Sector IV the foundation walls of a two-roomed house. Above the walls lay a mass of roof-tiles. To this settlement belong the majority of the pithoi *in situ*.

·50 m. Settlement 22.

At ·50 m. the foundation of a round building and a single course of stones were cleared in Sectors II and III, and resting across the latter, a long block of soft local stone.

In spite of the numerous occupation-levels, marked stratigraphic changes only occur in five places. And even these do not always correspond to changes in the character of the local pottery. For instance, though the stratification indicates some change as having occurred at 16 m., where the closely alternating layers cease and give way to stone foundations and to floors separated by deeper intervals of deposit, there is no perceptible change in the character of the finds at this point. Again, at 10·50 m., where the introduction of brick terraces coincides with the first appearance of Mycenaean pottery, the native pottery undergoes no change. Even in the layer of burnt debris lying between 5·50 m. and 4 m., which contains intrusive Danubian pottery, the local wares continue:

similarly, in the settlements at 2·25 m. and 1·40 m. with stone house-foundations, pithoi *in situ*, and with Hellenic pottery, the native pottery persists side by side with the intrusive, though, in the latter case, in diminishing quantities. Only in the eighteenth settlement, just above the burnt layer, and in the twenty-second, which succeeds the Hellenic fourth-century settlement, do stratigraphic and ceramic changes agree; and it is only in the latter case that continuity with the past is definitely broken.

In this respect, Central Macedonian pottery is contrasted with Thessalian. In Thessaly, in each period, a fresh style supersedes what goes before. The break is not violent but it exists. In Macedonia, on the other hand, we have in the monochrome undecorated wares a constant element from first almost to last, and even the decorated wares, incised or painted, can be explained by a process of evolution or internal development.

External influences, due to the proximity or intrusion of other cultures, as the peripheral position of Macedonia would lead one to expect, have assisted the evolution, it is true, but that a continuous tradition unites all the settlements, except the last, there can be little doubt.[1]

In describing the finds, therefore, it seems better to take as a basis of classification, not the changes in stratification, but the stages of development in the local pottery, and, in view of the uniformity of the undecorated wares we must rely principally on those changes which mark the evolution of the incised wares, as, with the exception of one class of painted ware, and the scraped ware, no other decorated classes exist.

The diagram on p. 12 shews in tabular form the five Periods, with their distinctive wares :—

[1] In the illustrations, in order to emphasise this continuity, in addition to examples from the period concerned, specimens from later periods are given. The examples are arranged, as far as possible, in their stratified order. Below each—

Roman numerals = Sectors of Main Trench (cf. section-drawing, Fig. 7).

S. = South Pit.

S.E. = South-East Pit.

E. = East Pit.

Arabic numerals = depth in half-metres.

Arabic numerals in brackets = vertical divisions of the half-metre. Reference to the section-drawing (Fig. 7) will shew the stratified position of every sherd.

Depth in metres.	Settlements.	Period.	Distinctive Local Wares.	Intrusive Wares.
Virgin soil to 14 m.	1–6	A	Incised 1	
14–12 m.	7, 8	B	Incised 2	
12–4 m.	9–17	C	Incised 3 Matt-painted	Mycenaean
			Incised 4	Danubian
4–·50 m.	18–21	D	Incised 5 } Incised 6 } Scraped ware	Hellenic
·50 m. to surface	22	E		Hellenic and Hellenistic

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THE FINDS.

The finds are described by Periods under four headings :—

(1) Pottery.

(2) Miscellaneous objects, implements, tools, ornaments, etc.

(3) Remains of buildings.

(4) Animal remains.

The description of vegetable and mineral remains is held over to Part II.

I. THE POTTERY.

The following diagram illustrates the general distribution of the principal local and intrusive wares. In general, with the exception of A 1, A 3, and B 1, the various wares are confined to the periods in which they begin, but there is naturally a certain amount of overlapping. As has been already noted, it is the A 1 wares (far the most common) which both in fabric and shapes best illustrate the conservatism of Macedonian pottery. It should be remembered too, that, even in the case of the decorated classes, the fabric is often identical with that of the undecorated. In the first three Periods all the decorated wares together represent only a small proportion of the pottery. In Periods D and E the proportion of decorated and undecorated is much more even.

Fuller stratigraphical details of the distribution of the wares within the periods are given on p. 31.

A	B	C	D	E
A 1. Monochrome undecorated	→	→	→	
A 2. Black polished	→	→		
A 3. Striated	→	→	→	
A 4. Incised 1				
	B 1. Tool-marked	→	→	
	B 2. Grooved	→		
	B 3. Incised 2			
		C 1. Incised 3		
		C 2. Matt-painted *Mycenaean*		
		C 3. Incised 4 *Danubian*		
			D 1. Incised 5	
			D 2. Incised 6	
			D 3. Grey monochrome (w.m.)	
			D 4. Matt-painted (w.m.)	
			D 5. Glazed (w.m.) *Hellenic*	→
			D 6. Scraped (w.m.)	→
				Hellenistic and local imitations.

w.m. = wheel-made.

PERIOD A. VIRGIN SOIL TO 14 M. SETTLEMENTS 1–6

A 1. *Monochrome undecorated.*

The clay is grey. The use of badly-levigated clay exists side by side with that of well-levigated clay throughout the history of the mound, and is not confined to the earliest period. The vases are well baked usually to a uniform colour, ranging from chestnut to silver-grey and almost black, or to buff and rarely red,[1] but examples occur where uneven firing has produced a mottled

[1] Red-faced wares only become common in the next period; they fall under the A 1 or B 1 categories. Their distribution in Period A is as follows :—

Half-metre 33 (2). Straight rim of a wide bowl.
,, 32 (1). Large coarse fragment.
,, 31. Rim and lug of bowl of Class A 1γ.
,, 30 and 29. Fragments of a vase of fine fabric with a polished red slip.

surface.[1] The polished and unpolished vases occur in about equal proportion. The principal shapes are—

A 1α. *Wide Bowls with flat bases and incurved rims* (Pl. I. Fig. 8). These bowls are large, having often a diameter of ·35 m. The rims vary from a sharply incurved type (Pl. I. 12, 13) to one with a very slight curve (*ibid.*, 18–20). A type with slightly projecting edge (*ibid.*, 8, 9) is especially common in the lower half-metres. With these bowls are to be associated numerous small horizontal lugs, with large or small vertical holes (*ibid.*, 1–3), or tubular lugs (*ibid.*, 4–6), all set on or just below the rims (Fig. 8).[2] Pls. II.*b*, 1 and IV. 17, shew two fairly complete examples of these bowls.

These bowls, which are extremely common in Period I, appear sporadically in all Periods, but their place seems later to have been generally taken by the bowls of Class A 1γ (see below).

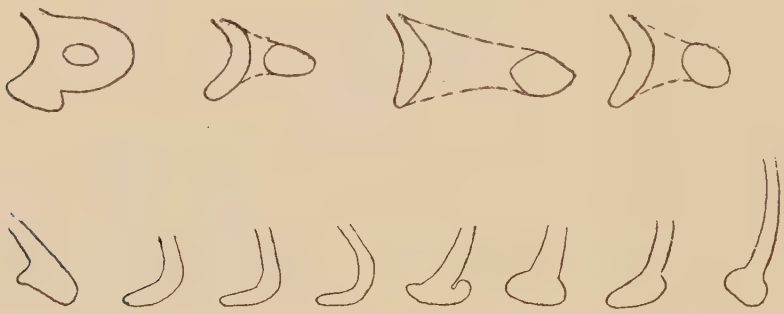


FIG. 8.—PERIOD A. MONOCHROME UNDECORATED: RIMS AND LUGS OF BOWLS (*A*1α)

A 1β. *Vases of uncertain shape* (*perhaps Askoi*) (Pl. II.*a*, 1–5).

The askos shape is conjectured from the numerous long ribbon handles with a very slight curve which can hardly have belonged to any other type of vase, and from a complete askos found in the corresponding stratum at Kilindir.[3] A characteristic feature of these handles is a central groove or a raised rib running the whole length of the handle, with sometimes a circular impression at the base (Pl. II.*a*, 3, 5, 9–11). No. 5 has a small projection at the upper end.[4]

[1] Without technical knowledge it is difficult to say by what process this fabric (A1) was produced. The fact that some of the specimens are unevenly fired suggests that an open fire was used, but, on the other hand, the quality of the fabric, the hard surface and firm texture, especially of the grey wares, indicate that the experimental stages of pottery-making had been passed by the time of the first settlement.

[2] The exact shape of the bowls with rolled edge, illustrated Pl. I. 16, 17, is uncertain. The rim is not horizontal, but has a slight upward curve. They were very common in the lowest half-metre. The type with splaying rim (*ibid.*, 10, 11) is rare.

[3] *Kilindir*, Pl. VIII. 2, which also has a grooved handle. There is a grooved handle with circular impression from Chauchitza (not published).

[4] These handles are made of two separate pieces. Such pieces, broken off along the line of junction, are *ibid.*, 4, 12.

The ribbed type continues into Period B in smaller quantities (*ibid.*, 6–9), and the grooved type occurs occasionally in Periods B and C (*ibid.*, 13–15). In Period D it becomes extremely common, associated with wheel-made jugs, and amphorae of Class D 4 (Fig. 14: 7; Pl. XX.*b*, 2, 4).

A 1γ. *Wide Bowls with straight rims*[1] (Pl. III.*a*),[2] *conical feet*[3] *and raking* ("wish-bone") *handles* (Pl. III.*b*, 5, 8, 9–11, 16): the rim is also protracted to form two small horizontal triangular lugs. This type first occurs about the middle of Period A, has a continuous history through Periods B and C, in the latter of which it is most common, and survives as a common type in Period D, but in a slightly changed form. It is the most characteristic of all Macedonian shapes. Examples incised in the second and third styles (Classes B 3 and C 1) also occur.

A 1δ. *Small Cups with loop handles* (Pl. IV. 1, 4, Pl. V. 4, 14, 22). These vases are usually of thinner fabric than those hitherto described, and are often highly polished. The complete specimens illustrated in Pl. IV. belong to a group found in the fourth settlement. The handles are sometimes flat ribbon-shaped, sometimes rolled. No. 4 has a raised foot.

A 1ε. *Small one-handled Jars* (*ibid.*, 5–7, and Pl. V. 1, 18). Fabric as in A 1δ. The neck curves outwards, and the handle is usually attached to the middle of it. Both A 1δ and A 1ε occur in Period B (*ibid.*, 25), and less commonly in C and D.

Miscellaneous shapes. Pl. II.*b*, 2 is a mug with a rolled handle. Pl. IV. 12 is a fragment of a cup with a broad strap-handle rising above the rim, in a smooth slate-grey fabric not unlike Minyan. *Ibid.*, 10, is a jar with a wide neck, and *ibid.*, 18, a jar with an angular profile.

Pl. III.*b*, 1–3, 6, 8, shews several handle-forms closely related to and perhaps prototypes of the wish-bone handle.[4] The rounded handles illustrated on the bottom row of the same Plate (Nos. 12–17) are common in all Periods. They were attached to the rims of open bowls.

There are a few bowls with side-spouts (Pl. VII.*b*, 9, 10).

A 2. *Black polished* (Pl. V).

Of this ware some belongs to the carboniferous class (presumably baked in an open fire), of which the clay is black throughout and the surface soft and porous,[5] some approximates more closely to the fabric of A 1. It is not always possible to distinguish, and they are accordingly classed together, but most

[1] A type with splaying rim occurs, but is much less common.

[2] The illustrated example comes from Period C.

[3] The hollow conical feet, which first appeared in the 33rd half-metre, must belong to these bowls. The edges were trimmed, and they were used as supports or pedestals for other vases. Cf. *Kilindir*, Pl. XI. 3.

[4] The ends of both types are sometimes stuck through the walls of the vase (Pl. III.*b*, 6, 9).

[5] A few are mottled and one is buff on the inside.

of the specimens in Period A belong to the carboniferous class. As, however, the same shapes are found in the A 1 fabric and at the same depth, it is not possible to claim priority for the carboniferous wares over the A 1 vases. After Period A they are less common. Those in Period B seem to be mostly non-carboniferous.

The following shapes were found or conjectured :—

(α) Bowls with incurved rim as A 1α (Pl. I. 1, 2, 7, 10).
(β) Askoi as A 1β (Pl. V. 2, 4, 12).
(γ) Small cups with loop handles as A 1δ (*ibid.*, 3, 10, 16, 26; and Pl. IV. 2, 3).
(δ) A jug with cut-away neck is inferred from Pl. V. 15. It is of the non-carboniferous variety. The inside is buff.[1]

A 3. *Striated.* (Pl. VI. 1–8, 10.)

The decoration is made with a toothed instrument producing shallow sweeping parallel lines, running in different directions, and covering almost the whole vase. The only shape recovered was a bowl with incurved rim (*ibid.*, 6), but pithoi occur with this decoration, and it is associated with impressed strips (*ibid.*, 5). This ware is found in all Periods.[2]

A 4. *First Incised Style.* (Pl. IX.*a*, 1, 2.)

Only two fragments (*ibid.*, 1, 2). No. 1 is the flat rim of a bowl, on which a row of latticed triangles has been carefully incised and filled with white chalk. No. 2, a similar fragment, much defaced, has a network of fine lines with a row of punctured dots.[3] This style is Rey's "Early Incised."[4] It differs from the Second Incised Style in the greater simplicity of the decoration, and in the fineness of the lines which are scratched with a very sharp instrument (not toothed).[5] A few stray survivals of this technique occur in Periods B and C (*ibid.*, 3, 4).

Coarse Ware.

(*a*) Types of the coarse ware of this Period are illustrated in Pl. IV. They include a wide bowl with flat rim (*ibid.*, 9), bowls with loop handles rising from the rim (as Pl. VIII.*b*, 1, from Period B), a tall handle-less jar

[1] Cf. Rey, Part II., Fig. 20.

[2] Originally adopted to give a better grip, this device was used decoratively also, and assisted in the evolution of the Second Incised Style (*v.* below).

[3] Cf. Rey, Pl. XIX. 1.

[4] Cf. Rey, pp. 212–14; but some of the examples of his Style No. 2 seem to belong rather to our First Incised Style, *e.g.* Rey, Part II., Figs. 20, 29, 31, Pl. XIX. 1–6; also the bowls with stamped circles from Stratum I*a* at Kilindir (*Kilindir*, Pl. IX. 1), and the incised lid (Pl. X. 1), though its context is later. Cf. also *B.M. Cat.* Fig. 27, A 943. We would therefore distinguish an earlier and a later phase of this style.

[5] When parallel lines occur they are incised separately.

(Pl. IV. 13), a saucer with straight sides (*ibid.*, 8), a high bowl with lugs below the rim (*ibid.*, 14), and a small handle-less cup (?) with projecting lugs (*ibid.*, 15). In No. 11 (shape uncertain) the handle-end has been stuck through the wall.

(*b*) *Perforated.* In addition to the jug-shaped strainer (?) (*ibid.*, 16), a great many fragments of wide bowls or dishes with a row of perforations along the rim were found (Pl. VII.*a*). There is a class with small holes which only occurs sporadically after Period A, and a very coarse class, with large holes, which begins in Period A, is commonest in Period B and recurs in Period C (*ibid.*, 11–13).[1]

(*c*) *Pithoi, etc.* Fragments of store-jars, large and small, were common. They are often decorated with impressed strips; and a characteristic feature is a convex lug with a row of scalloped impressions, which vary in number, sometimes as many as eight appearing on one lug (Pl. VII.*b*, 1–3). These lugs continue in Periods B and C, but in smaller numbers (*ibid.*, 4–8).

Miscellaneous. One fragment of grey Minyan (?) wheel-made (Pl. IX.*b*, 2).

PERIOD B. 14 M. TO 12 M. SETTLEMENTS 7 AND 8.

A 1. Red and buff wares become common. Shapes A 1α, A 1β become rarer; shape A 1γ very common. Among miscellaneous fragments may be noted a ledge handle (Pl. X.*b*, 1); a fluted handle (*ibid.*, 4), and a crested handle perforated horizontally, (*ibid.*, 2), both of highly polished yellow clay,[2] and a curious loop-handle of brick-red clay[3] (*ibid.*, 3). Biconical urns (cf. B 1 below) are found in this fabric (Pl. VIII.*a*, 1).

A 2. Several specimens, including an askos handle (Pl. V. 28).

A 3. Fairly common (Pl. VI. 9).

A 4. One specimen (Pl. IX.*a*, 4).

B 1. *Tool-marked ware.*

Monochrome, generally with red or yellow biscuit, the surface being of the same colour. The surface, which has no slip, is not brought up to a uniform smoothness or polish, but left in a half-finished state, the marks of the smoothing instrument being often perceptible to the touch, and the marks of the polisher, which run irregularly in all directions, shewing up against the unpolished parts of the surface. The principal shape is a large biconical

[1] Cf. No. 13. The rim slopes away at one end, and recalls the frying-pans from Korákou (*q.v.*, Fig. 15).

[2] Cf. Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, Fig. 207 and Plate VI. 3.

[3] Cf. a similar handle on a black jar from Syra (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1899, Pl. IX. 5).

urn (Pl. VIII.*a*, 2), with a splaying rim, and sometimes four loop handles set vertically, or two (?) large spreading lugs pierced horizontally, set at the widest part of the vase (Pl. III.*b*, 4). This shape is most common in the next Period (C), and some evidence exists for its occurrence in Period A also. It is the prototype of a smaller class, decorated in the Third Incised Style (cf. p. 20 below). Bowls with wish-bone handles are also found in this fabric, and, to judge from fragments, other shapes as well. It occurs throughout Period C and is fairly frequent in D.

B 2. *Grooved.*

Pl. VIII.*b*, 2, shews the neck of a black-polished jar with horizontal grooves; Pl. IX.*b*, 3, a similar fragment in slate-grey polished ware with irregular grooves; *ibid.*, 1, a fragment of a ribbon-handle, with rough vertical grooves; *ibid.*, 4, two fragments of a vase of slate-grey fabric not unlike Minyan, with shallow irregular parallel grooves.

B 3. *Second Incised* (Pl. IX.*a*, 5–18).

The biscuit is grey, not well levigated,[1] the surface of varied tints ranging from black to brown, red and mottled, well smoothed and often well polished. No complete shapes were recovered at Vardaróftsa, but, to judge from the large fragment (*ibid.*, 6), which must have belonged to a globular vase, and from the handle (*ibid.*, 7), the large bowls characteristic of Period C (cf. p. 20, below),[2] and then incised in the third style, must have already existed. We know too from other sites that this form of incision was applied to bowls with splaying rims and 'wish-bone' handles,[3] as well as to the ordinary type of bowl with 'wish-bone' handles (A 1γ).

Characteristic of this style are the ribbons composed of even, parallel lines, often made with a toothed instrument. The lines are not always quite continuous, but made in a series of short strokes (*ibid.*, 6, 13, 16). They are often filled with chalk. The bands are arranged to form wavy lines (*ibid.*, 8), and spirals (*ibid.*, 5, 6, 13, 16); rectangular bands often enclose the design (*ibid.*, 6, 8). The latticed triangle with prolonged apex is combined with these bands (*ibid.*, 11), also the pothook spiral (*ibid.*, 17). The full variety of the style is not well represented at Vardaróftsa, but to judge by fragments from other sites it ranks among the most distinguished Incised styles both in fabric and decoration.[4]

Coarse. The coarse ware of this Period includes bowls with two loop handles rising above the rim (Pl. VIII.*b*, 1), a rough cup with a horizontal lug and a low foot (*ibid.*, 3), and the stopper of a pithos, with a loop handle (*ibid.*, 4).

[1] In contrast to the Third Incised Style.
[2] *Chauchitza*, Pl. XXVII. Fig. 3, and our Pl. XII.*b*, 1.
[3] Examples occur at Kilindir, Stratum II*a* (not published).
[4] The genesis of this style and its northern affinities are discussed below (p. 55).

Pithoi and store-jars (Pl. X.*a*, 1) do not differ from those in Period A. Most of the 'frying-pans' with large perforations belong to this Period (see p. 17 above).

Miscellaneous. A sherd with an impressed star (Pl. XIV.*b*, 1).

PERIOD C. 12 TO 4 M. SETTLEMENTS 9–17.

A 1 fabrics, red and yellow, continue to be common, and the reappearance of certain shapes, especially the bowls with incurved rim (A 1α), and the abundance of the bowls with wish-bone handles (A 1γ) should be noted. The complete example of the latter shape (Pl. III.*a*) belongs to this Period. The biconical urn is also found in this fabric (Pl. VIII.*a*, 1).

There are also some grooved handles, which suggest that the askos (A 1β) had not died out. The scalloped lug, characteristic of Period A, still occurs (Pl. VII.*b*, 4–8). Several jugs with cut-away or slanting necks occur in this Period (Pl. XI.*a*, 1–8, 10, 11): one is of extremely delicate polished ware, and has two small protuberances on either side of the lip (*ibid.*, 7).

Among the miscellaneous ware of A 1 should be noted the bilobate handle (Pl. X.*b*, 7),[1] a hemi-spherical bowl in polished red fabric (burnt layer) (Pl. XVII.*c*, 3), a jar with two rolled handles (Pl. XI.*b*),[2] the conical foot and raking handle of a small cup of yellow unpolished clay (burnt layer), the handle of a small hand-made grey cup from the same context (Fig. 11, *g*),[2] and a large broad-plate handle with polished buff surface (Pl. XVIII.*a*, 1).

A 2. A few specimens (Pl. V. 29–33).

A 3. A few specimens (Pl. VI. 11, 12).

A 4. One specimen (Pl. IX.*a*, 3).

B 1. Very common throughout the Period.

B 2. Two fragments shewing the ends of bands of sweeping parallel lines (Pl. IX.*b*, 5, 6); a fragment with roughly-circular grooves surrounding a '*buckel*,' with a row of punctured dots above (*ibid.*, 7). One fragment from the burnt layer has wavy and straight vertical grooves below a horizontal groove—all roughly executed (*ibid.*, 8).

B 3. A few fragments in Settlements 11 and 12.

C 1. *Third Incised Style* (Pls. XII., XIII.).

The principal difference between this style and the Second Incised Style is that the clay is better refined and the bands are produced with a more flexible instrument, so that the lines instead of being even and parallel are spreading and irregular. Short transverse lines cross the bands. Though the designs are bold, the general effect is untidy, and this untidiness is intensified by the

[1] For bilobate handles, cf. Peet, *op. cit.*, Figs. 207, 211, and p. 427.

[2] The two latter are important, as they foreshadow the wheel-made grey kantharos of the next Period.

custom of smearing white or pink paste thickly on the bands. In one case (Pl. XII.*a*, 1) the pattern, a zigzag band and a containing frame, is reserved,[1] and the background is filled with incised lines, covered with thick white paste.[2]

(α) The principal shape is a deep globular bowl with scarcely any neck, and with two vertical handles rolled or pointed, rising above the rim (Pl. XII.*a*, 1, and Pl. XII.*b*, 1).[3] Pl. XII.*a*, 2 has horizontal loop handles.

(β) Another shape is the biconical urn, small, with vertically pierced pointed lugs (Pl. XII.*b*, 2), set at the widest point of the body. The resemblance of these vases to the so-called '*Villanova*' urn in form and decoration is most striking.[4] Most of these urns have string-holes in the rim, corresponding to the holes in the lugs.

The designs include meandroid patterns (Pl. XII.*b*, 2), spirals and meanders combined (Pl. XII.*a*, 2), and impressed dots, arranged in circles or in rows (Pl. XII.*b*, 1, 2); reserved zigzags (Pl. XII.*a*, 1), etc., the whole design being often enclosed in a frame (*ibid. b*, 1, and Pl. XIII. 5, 30). *Ibid.*, 30–32, shews fragments of a bowl with wish-bone handles in deep red clay, of which the decoration combines Incised Styles 1, 2 and 3.

C 2. *Matt-Painted Ware* (hand-made) (Pl. XIV.*a*).

This ware is fully described by Rey.[5] There are two classes, coarse and fine. The clay is usually grey (sometimes yellow all through), the surface yellow or buff, or almost white, with a slip of the same colour, slightly polished, and shews marks of the smoothing tool, as in Class B 1. The paint is purplish in colour, occasionally deep red, and always matt.

Of the coarse variety we found very few specimens at Vardaróftsa. The decoration, consisting of horizontal bands, is very carelessly drawn.

The fine variety is distinguished by the smooth surface, which often has the soapy texture of Yellow Minyan. The most common shape at Vardaróftsa is a bowl with angular profile and splaying rim (*ibid.*, 5, 9–12), and handles of the form illustrated *ibid.*, 1–3. These handles seem to be alternative forms of the pointed handle which first appears in connection with the Second Incised Style,[6] but the upper member has been broadened into a triangular plate[7] (usually with a perforation, or circular impression), above the extremity of which the lower member projects, with the object of providing a good grip.[8]

[1] For reserved zigzag in Second Incised Style cf. *Kilindir*, Pl. XI. Fig. 3.

[2] Pl. XIII. 19. The paste is bright pink.

[3] For other examples cf. *B.M. Cat.*, Fig. 24, and *Chauchitza*, Pl. XXVII. Fig. 3.

[4] There are two fragments of similar urns with incised meandroid designs on the neck, from Stratum II*b* at Kilindir (*Kilindir*, Pl. XII. Fig. 2, the other not published).

[5] Pp. 228–33 and Plates XXIV.–XXXIII.

[6] For a simple pointed handle with a perforation, cf. Pl. X.*b*, 8.

[7] There is an early example of this shape from Stratum I at Kilindir (not published).

[8] For an almost complete example of what seems to be a local variety of these bowls —shallow with rounded profile—cf. *Chauchitza*, Pl. XXVIII. Fig. 2, where the fabric too is slightly different. We found one fragment of this Chauchitza variety at Vardaróftsa (Pl. XIV.*a*, 6).

The decorative elements at Vardaróftsa are pot-hook spirals, hatched triangles, wavy bands, and fringed bands. The decoration is often placed along the inside of the rim, thus— .[1] Rarely the whole vase is coated on the outside with deep red paint, as in the jug with cut-away neck (Pl. XI.*a*, 2). There are unpainted fragments of this fabric,[2] *e.g.* the handles illustrated in Pl. X.*b*, 5, 6, and the 'thumb-grip'[3] handles illustrated *ibid.*, 9, 12.

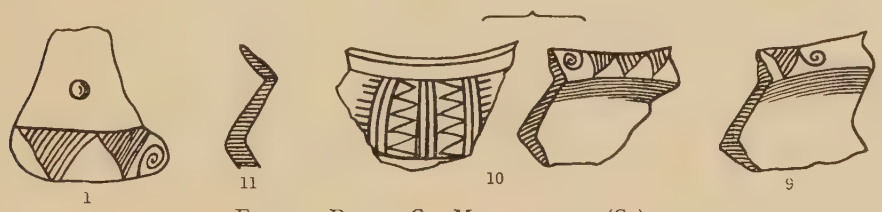


FIG. 9.—PERIOD C. MATT-PAINTED (C2).

PROFILES AND DECORATION OF BOWLS.
Numbers refer to Plate XIV.*a*.

FIG. 10.—PERIOD D. MYCENAEAN (RE-CONSTRUCTED).

Mycenaean and Sub-Mycenaean (Pls. XV., XVI.*a*, *b*). Begins in the 20th half-metre. It is nearly all of local clay, not imported,[4] mostly of poor technique; but rare specimens recall good Mycenaean fabrics. Nine pieces are completely glazed on the inside. Among the masses of undistinguished sherds, mostly decorated with horizontal bands, the following shapes could be identified:—

20th half-metre: bowls with slight rims and loop-handles (Fig. 10, 4; Pl. XVI.*a*); these occur throughout the Mycenaean deposit.

[1] Cf. also Fig. 9.

[2] One example has a ribbon handle starting from the rim, and a rounded profile, exactly like the typical Yellow Minyan goblets (cf. *Korákou*, Fig. 78).

[3] The persistence of this shape of handle is noteworthy. There are several examples in Period D (*ibid.*, 11, 13, 14). It is a developed form of the pointed handle (*ibid.*, 8).

[4] Out of about 150 fragments only 12 are imported.

19th half-metre: amphora with network pattern on the shoulder (Fig. 10, 2; Pl. XV.*a*, 5, 9, 12); squat amphora of both globular and angular type (Fig. 10, 3, 6; Pl. XVI.*a*, 11, 13, 19; Pl. XV.*a*, 4).
17th half-metre: wide kraters on short stems (Fig. 10, 1; Pl. XVI.*a*, 24, 26; Pl. XV.*a*, 8).
16th half-metre: kylix with painted stem, and with plain stem (Fig. 10, 5; Pl. XV.*a*, 2): jug with cut-away neck (Fig. 10, 7; Pl. XV.*a*, 7).
15th half-metre: *Bügelkanne* (Fig. 10, 8; Pl. XV.*a*, 14).

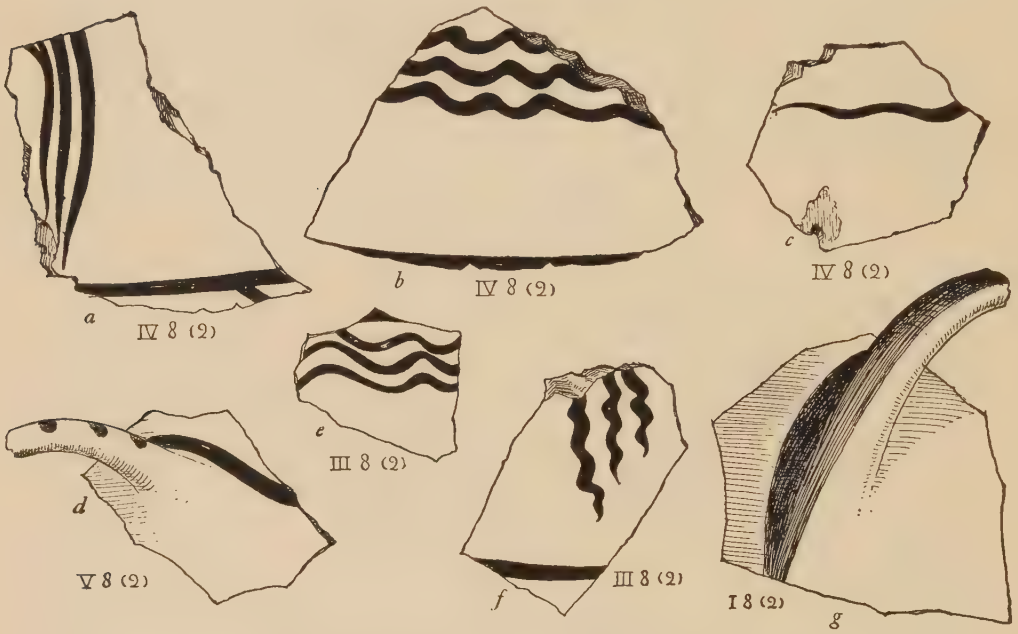


FIG. 11.—PERIOD C. SUB-MYCENAEAN.

14th half-metre: amphora as in 19th half-metre (Pl. XV.*b*, 4).
14th–9th half-metre: the usual sub-Mycenaean deep bowl (Pl. XVI.*b*).
A fragment of a 'medallion' bowl[1] was picked up on the surface.

Fig. 10 shews a group of reconstructed types. It is clear that nothing previous to Late Helladic III. *b* is represented. In the upper part of the deposit, *i.e.* the burnt layer, and 25 centimetres above it, no shapes except the sub-Mycenaean bowl were found.[2]

[1] Cf. *B.M. Cat.*, Fig. 287.

[2] Pl. XVI.*a* shews fragments of these bowls from the burnt layer. Fragments from just above it (Fig. 11) supply important evidence for the relation of this, the latest phase of sub-Mycenaean, to the style that immediately succeeds it (cf. p. 30 below).

C 3. *Fourth Incised.* (Pl. XIV.*b*.)

The antecedents of this class should be looked for in the later phases of the matt-painted style (C 2). A comparison with sherds like Rey, Pl. XXX. 2, shews from where this Fourth Incised Style derives its principal feature, *i.e.* roughly drawn parallel or converging lines, with untidy fringes (Pl. XIV.*b*, 4, 7–10). It thus seems to stand in the line of descent from the Second Incised Style, to which no doubt it owes the stamped wedges (*ibid.*, 5, 12). There is one example of a filling of punctured dots (*ibid.*, 10), and one fragment has carefully-incised chevrons and stamped circles (*ibid.*, 13). *Ibid.*, 3, with very slightly-scratched wavy and straight lines, and *ibid.*, 2, with a zigzag between horizontal bands, are unique. The fabric of this class of Incised ware is dark grey, usually unpolished, but Nos. 7 and 13 are yellow and well-polished. It stands midway between the Earlier and Later Incised Styles. It occurs at Várdino in a similar context.

Danubian (Fig. 12; Pl. XVII). This ware practically begins and ends with the burnt layer in the 5th metre, very few examples being found either above or below,[1] although its influence is discernible in the wares of the next period. The clay is, in general, coarse and badly levigated, the surface sometimes left rough, but sometimes slipped and highly polished. The surface-colour varies from buff to grey and deep black, but is not always uniform, some parts of the vases being darker than others. One vase is wheel-made (*ibid.*, 17).

There are three shapes:

(α) One-handled jars with wide necks and low bulging bodies, the division between neck and shoulder being sharply accentuated. Plate XVII.*b*, 1 and 2 are unfluted examples, but some of the fluted fragments (Pl. XVII.*a*) may come from similar vases, the fluting being confined to the lower part. Numerous loop handles should probably be associated with these jars (Fig. 12, *h–k*). Plate XVII.*a*, 17 (wheel-made) has a ridge round the rim. *Ibid.*, 7 (Fig. 12, *l*), shews a small highly-polished black jar with a curving neck and with a small knob on the shoulder and vertical fluting on the body; whether it had handles or not is uncertain. It may be part of a bowl like the following.

(β) Two-handled bowl with wide curving neck [2] and bulging body tapering to a small base (Pl. XVII.*c*, 2). It has two fluted handles which must have risen slightly above the rim. A fragment of a similar handle, perhaps from the same vase, was found just above the burnt layer. Most of the fragments illustrated (Pl. XVII.*a*) seem to come from similar vases. The fluting is not always vertical (*ibid.*, 14).

(γ) Deep handle-less bowl, grey, polished, with four slight projections at the shoulder (Pl. XVII.*c*, 1).

[1] Cf. diagram, p. 31.

[2] The restoration of the neck and rim is conjectured from the curve of the handle, and from a comparison with the small jar just described, which it closely resembles in shape and fabric. It also has a small knob on the shoulder.

Coarse. Impressed strips, rope patterns, circular impressions appear as forms of decoration (Pl. X.*a*, 3–13). Plate XVI.*c* is particularly noteworthy for the design[1] and careful execution. During this Period appear coarse vases, very often of black clay throughout, with impressed strips running at right

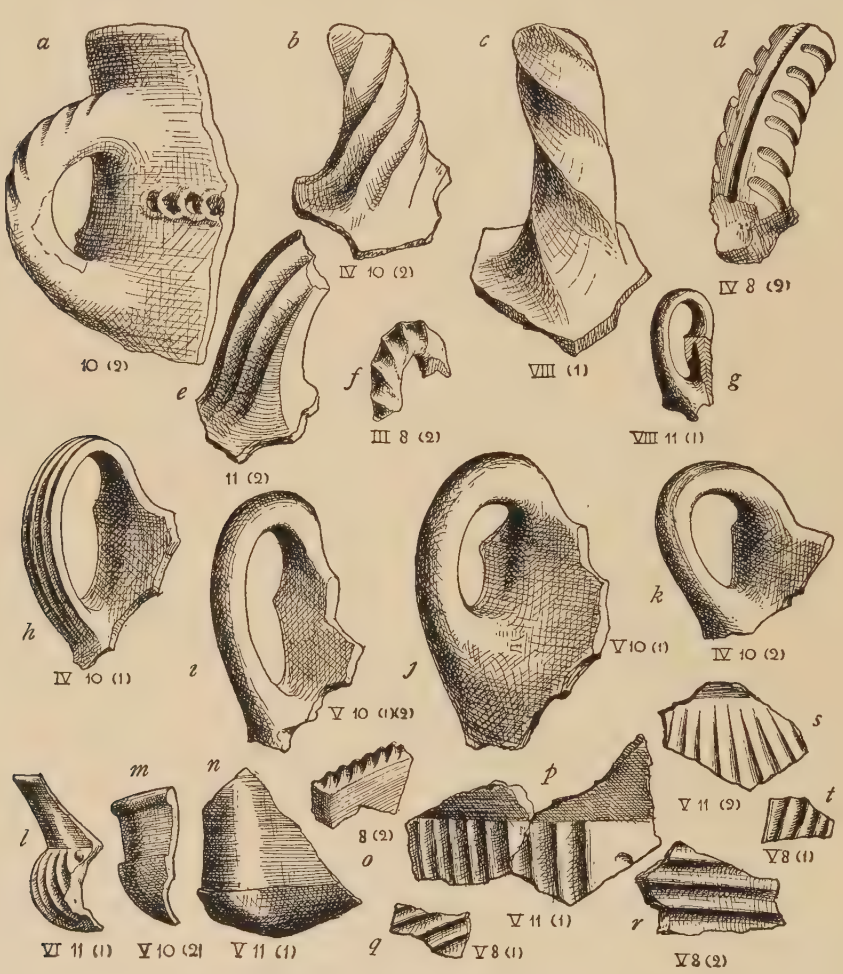


FIG. 12.—PERIOD C. DANUBIAN.

angles to one another. The first example occurs in the 17th half-metre (Pl. X.*a*, 7), and they are particularly common in the burnt layer (*ibid.*, 9, 10, 11). Similar sherds appeared at Várdino in the upper layer of the Mycenaean deposit. In the burnt layer were also a great many coarse vases,

[1] A zigzag band with curled ends between horizontal bands.

usually of red-brick colour with fluted decoration on the handles (Fig. 12, *a*, *b*, *e*, *h*). Round shallow flat-bottomed pans of unrefined clay first appear in this Period and continue into the next. In the 12th settlement, lying on the floor of a house, was a shallow rectangular pan of coarse clay (Fig. 13).

PERIOD D. 4 M. TO ·50 M. SETTLEMENTS 18–21.

The local pottery of this Period, though in the main a continuation of the preceding, shews a greater divergence from the past than had

V. 17 (2)

FIG. 13.—PERIOD C. BAKING-PAN (Scale 1 : 5).

hitherto occurred. The wheel now begins to be used for fashioning the local painted vases, and the influence of the Mycenaean and northern intruders makes itself felt, the Mycenaean in the vogue of the derivative bowl, and the northern in the vogue of fluted decoration, now applied to pots that were still made in the local shape, *e.g.* the jugs with cut-away necks and the bowls with incurved rims. The fabric of the monochrome undecorated hand-made ware (A 1) has undergone a slight change, and is baked harder and becomes more brittle to the touch. With the

appearance of Hellenic wares in the 5th half-metre the old types begin to decline. Fig. 14 shews a group of the principal types.[1]

HAND-MADE.

A 1α (Fig. 14, 3). These bowls acquire a fluted or corrugated rim (Pl. XVIII.*a*, 13, 14, 17), but unfluted examples still occur, often with loop handles rising from the rim (*ibid.*, 7).

A 1γ (Fig. 14, 1*a*, 1*b*; Pl. XVIII.*b*). This vase now appears in a modified form, though the earlier shape is occasionally found (Pl. XVIII.*a*, 8, 9). The wish-bone handles are now set horizontally, and are sometimes little more than lugs. They are rounded, triangular, or square, and are not always pierced (Pl. XIX.*a*, 9, 18, 20, 21). Some of the bowls have side spouts (Fig. 15, 2, 4–7). A great many are incised (cf. D 1, D 2 below). There is also a type with broad rim, usually incised (Fig. 14, 1*b* (reconstructed) and Fig. 15, 1).

One of the most common shapes in the A 1 fabric is the jug with cut-away neck (Fig. 14, 2). Under the influence of the fluted ware of the preceding stratum it acquires a fluted handle, which early develops into the characteristic twisted handle (Pl. XVIII.*a*, 3–5). No complete vase was recovered at Vardaróftsa, but the shape is certain from numerous examples elsewhere. Fluted bands sometimes decorate the neck (Pl. XI.*a*, 13), or small parallel notches along the cut-away portion of the rim. Incision is also found round the shoulder, just below the neck (cf. p. 27, note 2).

A 2. A few fragments.

A 3. A few fragments which do not differ from those of previous Periods (Pl. VI. 14).

B 1. A few examples. Plate XIX.*a*, 10, 19, illustrates two bowls, one with a loop handle, the other with a lug projecting from the rim, with two perforations. The latter is brick-red.

C 1. A few examples (Pl. XIV.*b*, 14, 15).

C 2. Now becomes D 4 (wheel-made).

Mycenaean. Now becomes D 5 (glazed ware), but a few are still true sub-Mycenaean.

Danubian. A few fragments (Pl. XVII.*a*, 18, 20, 22).

D 1. *Fifth Incised Style* (Pl. XIX.*a*, 3, 5–7, Pl. XIX.*b*, 1, 3).

The incision is made with a blunt instrument, producing grooves. It is mostly applied to the rims and handles of bowls of Types A 1γ (Fig. 14, 1*a*), and rarely to handles of jugs with cut-away necks. The patterns are very simple, parallel or converging strokes, or rows of hatched triangles.

[1] The numbering in the drawing is that used in the article, *Antiquaries' Journal*, VII. pp. 44–59, "*Iron Age Pottery from Macedonia.*" As the principal types have been described in that place, they will be treated only summarily here. For permission to reproduce this drawing, Figs. 3, 11, 12, and Pls. III.*a*, VIII.*a*, XII., XVI.*b*, XVIII.*a* and *b*, and XIX.*a* and *b*, we are indebted to the courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries.

D 2. *Sixth Incised Style* (Pl. XIX.*a*, 1, 2, 4, 8, 11–17; Pl. XIX.*b*, 2, 4–18).

The incision is made with a sharp instrument. It is applied to both kinds of bowls (Fig. 14, 1*a* and 1*b*; Fig. 15, 4), and also to the necks and shoulders of jugs (Pl. XIX.*b*, 10, 14–17).[1] The designs are much more varied

FIG. 14.—PERIOD D. POTTERY-TYPES. (Scale 1 : 8.)

than in the preceding class and include stamped circles with or without central dot (Pl. XIX.*b*, 4, 8, 9, 17),[2] circles joined by tangents (Pl. XIX.*a*, 4; Pl. XIX.*b*, 2, 6, 7, 15), lozenges and triangles filled with small pricked

[1] On the analogy of Thessalian examples in the Volo museum this decoration was applied to the shoulders of jugs with cut-away necks (*Hängeschmück*).

[2] The stamped circles often overlapping deserve notice (Pl. XIX.*b*, 17; Pl. XIV.*b*, 16), and may be compared with the stamped circles on a pithos fragment from Delphi (*Fouilles*, V. Fig. 91). For the combination of stamped circles and foliate pattern (Pl. XIX.*b*, 17), cf. two vases from the cemetery at Eleusis (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1898, Pl. II. 14, 15).

wedges (Pl. XIX.*b*, 4, 5), chevrons (Pl. XIX.*a*, 1, 8, 11, 13), and rows of pricked dashes (*ibid.*, 12, 14–16; Pl. XIX.*a*, 12, 18). The class as a whole seems to be a reversion to the style and spirit of the First Incised Style (cf. p. 16), but some features are more in the matt-painted ware tradition.[1]

WHEEL-MADE.

D 3. *Grey monochrome* (Fig. 14, 4; Pl. XX.*a*, 1).

The clay is baked hard, but has often a smooth surface. The colour varies from silvery-grey to black. The principal shape is a one-handled cup, on a conical or spreading foot. The profile of the upper part is sometimes straight, sometimes concave, and sometimes bulging. Wheel-made horizontal lines evenly distributed, or in groups, decorate the upper part of the body. The handle, flat ribbon-shaped, or rolled with a central groove,[2] projects above the rim. Later, bowls with a great variety of rims and jugs with cut-away necks were made in this fabric.

D 4. *Matt-painted* (Fig. 14, 7; Pl. XXI.*a*).

The wheel-made painted ware continues the tradition of the hand-made painted (C 2). There is a fine variety with a hard, even surface, and another, thick and coarse. No shapes were recovered at Vardaróftsa except a spouted bowl (Pl. XX.*b*, 3), but many of the grooved handles (*ibid.*, 4) belong to amphorae,[3] and to jugs with cut-away necks. The patterns are painted in purplish or reddish, sometimes black,[4] paint, either directly on the clay or on a whitish slip, which often has a silvery tinge. They consist of large compass-drawn concentric circles (Pl. XXI.*a*, 17),[5] or small concentric circles arranged in rows, between horizontal bands or latticed triangles (*ibid.*, 4, 14, 15), horizontal bands joined by rough vertical stripes (*ibid.*, 16), or a rough kind of network pattern (*ibid.*, 10). This class is the local version of proto-Geometric and Geometric.

D 5. *Glazed Ware* (Fig. 14, 6; Fig. 15, 8; Pl. XX.*b*, 1, 5; Pl. XXI.*a*, 1, 8, 9, 11).

This ware is derived from the Mycenaean. Technically it is excellent, being thin, well-baked, and decorated in a good lustrous glaze-paint: artistically it is quite dead. Far the commonest shape is an open bowl with spreading handles (Fig. 14, 6) derived from the typical sub-Mycenaean bowl of the

[1] Cp. the painted bowl from Kilindir (*Kilindir*, Pl. XIV.), with its tangentially-joined circles; and cf. Rey, Pl. XXVI. 7, 9, 12, with our Pl. XIX.*a*, 8.

[2] Like the grooved handles of Period A, these are made in two pieces.

[3] Like the one illustrated Rey, Part II., Fig. 48.

[4] Red is sometimes used as a subsidiary colour (Pl. XXI.*a*, 2).

[5] The distribution of the concentric circle is as follows :—8th half-metre 3 (all in upper half); 7th half-metre 6; 6th half-metre 5; 5th half-metre 6; *i.e.* it continued in Macedonia almost till the fifth century.

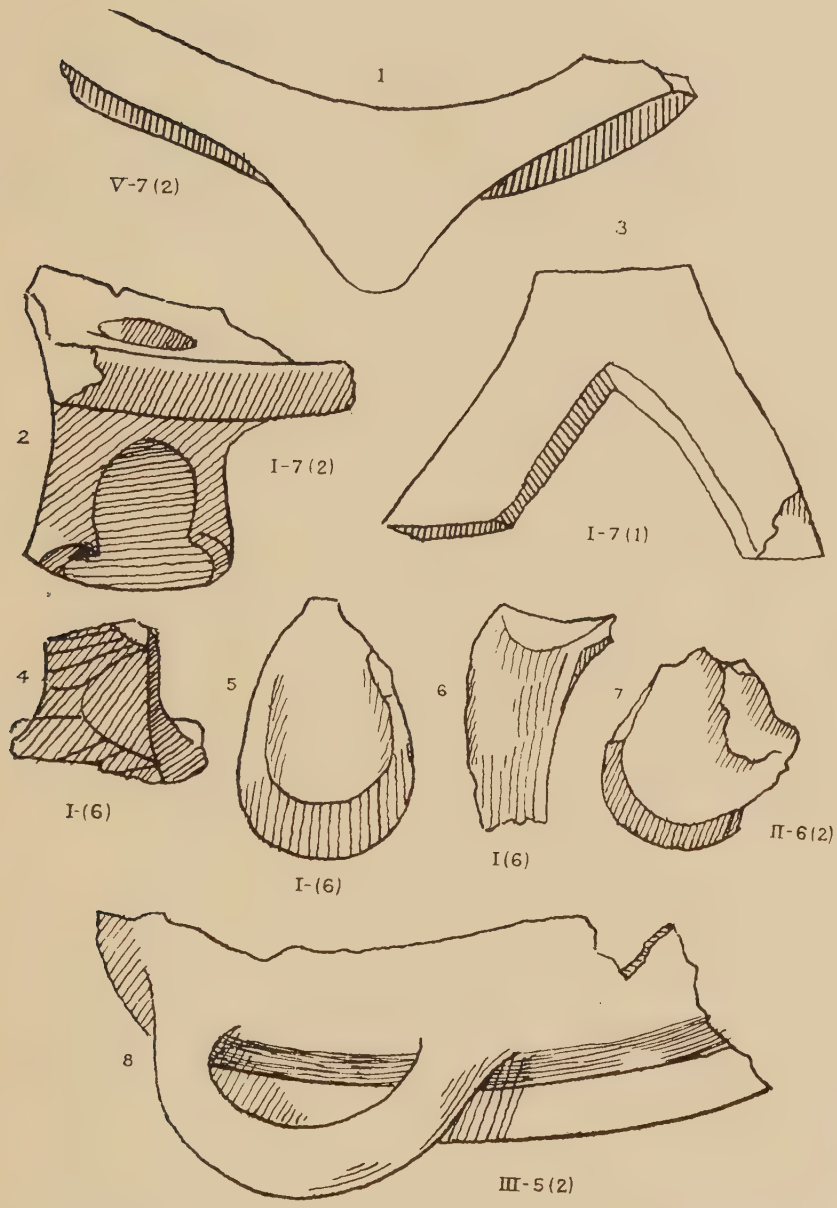


FIG. 15.—PERIOD D. 1–3, BOWLS (A 1γ) WITH BROAD RIM; 2, 5–7, BOWLS (A 1γ) WITH SIDE-SPOUTS; 4, BOWL WITH SIDE-SPOUT (D 2); 8, GLAZED BOWL (D 5). (Scale 1 : 2.)

preceding stratum (Pl. XVI.*b*). The transition can be observed in the 8th half-metre, just above the lowest layer, both the true sub-Mycenaean type and its derivative being found together (Fig. 11, *d*, *g*). The rims become very varied, and later, Hellenic shapes were reproduced in this fabric. In the same fabric, jugs with cut-away necks, a shallow bowl with pinched-out ribbon handle, set obliquely towards the rim (Fig. 14, 5; Pl. XX.*a*, 3),[1] and a small one-handled jug with side-spout are common (*ibid.*, 1). The patterns are mostly horizontal bands or concentric circles, but sometimes the vase is completely coated with this glaze, shewing marks of the brush (Pl. XX.*b*, 1, 2).

There are a few imported Geometric sherds.

Hellenic (Pls. XXI.*b*, XXII). The Hellenic pottery will be treated more fully in the second part of this Report, which deals with the pottery from the High Table. Typical fragments are illustrated in Plate XXI.*b*. They are arranged in their stratified order. They occur as follows :—

5th half-metre. Two fragments of a Corinthian skyphos, with rays round the lower part (*ibid.*, 1, 10), and one Corinthian sherd of good fabric with a polished white slip (*ibid.*, 2). Fragment of a rim (Corinthian ?) (*ibid.*, 11).

4th half-metre. Base of an alabastron (*ibid.*, 3, 4), with black glaze circular dots, framed in imbrications in white paint. Thirteen Attic sherds with black or red glaze-paint, some of which are fifth-century (*ibid.*, 5, 6, 8, 9). The remainder are fourth-century.

3rd and 2nd half-metre. Fourth-century sherds and perhaps local imitations (*ibid.*, 12–42; Pl. XXII, 1–7).

D 6. *Scraped Ware* (*ibid.*, 8).

This ware begins in the 4th half-metre. It will be fully described in Part II. It seems to have been a local product.

Miscellaneous. In the 3rd half-metre occur fragments of fine wheel-made ware, plain or completely glazed, having raised zones with incised notches or rope-pattern upon them, very carefully executed (Pl. XX.*b*, 6–11). These were most common in the 4th half-metre. What is perhaps the prototype occurs in the 8th half-metre (Pl. XIV.*b*, 15). They should be considered as varieties of D 3 (grey monochrome) and D 5 (glazed).

[1] Cf. *S. S.*, No. 647, for what is perhaps the prototype of this vase. It is worthy of note, as shewing its local character, that it is found in the tumulus of the Macedonians who fell at Chaeronea. See *B.M. Cat.* p. 209, where Forsdyke suggests that it is related to the bowls with wish-bone handle. For a fuller description cf. *A.J.*, p. 54. There were several in the Chauchitza cemetery, whence comes the example illustrated.

Coarse. Pl. XVIII.*c*, and Fig. 34 illustrate two coarse jars from this Period, both from the 6th half-metre. Large pithoi with rope-decoration, either in applied horizontal strips or along the rim, are fairly common. All the pithoi *in situ* in the fourth-century settlement (21) have flat projecting rims and pointed bases, and were buried in the earth. They are undecorated. Several 'thumb-grip' handles (Pl. X.*b*, 11, 13, 14) are found in coarse fabric. The flat-bottomed pans (cf. p. 25) continue throughout the Period.

PERIOD E. 0·50 M. TO SURFACE.

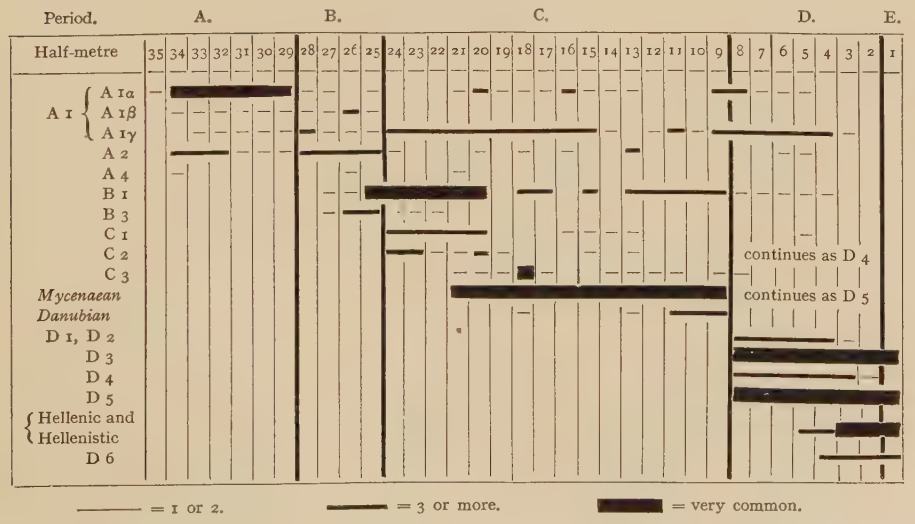
D 3. The fabric survives, but the shapes are Hellenic, Hellenistic or local adaptations.

D 5. Common: includes two jugs with cut-away necks.

D 6. A few fragments.

Hellenic and Hellenistic. There are a few fourth-century black-glazed sherds, but the majority seem to be Hellenistic. It is not, however, always possible to separate them. There is a good deal of plain ware of local make, which reproduces Hellenic or Hellenistic forms, or shews their influence. There is one fragment of relief-ware.[1]

The following diagram illustrates the stratification of the principal types.



[1] Cf. Courby, *Vases grecs à reliefs*, chap. xxi.

FIG. 16.—MISCELLANEOUS STONE OBJECTS.

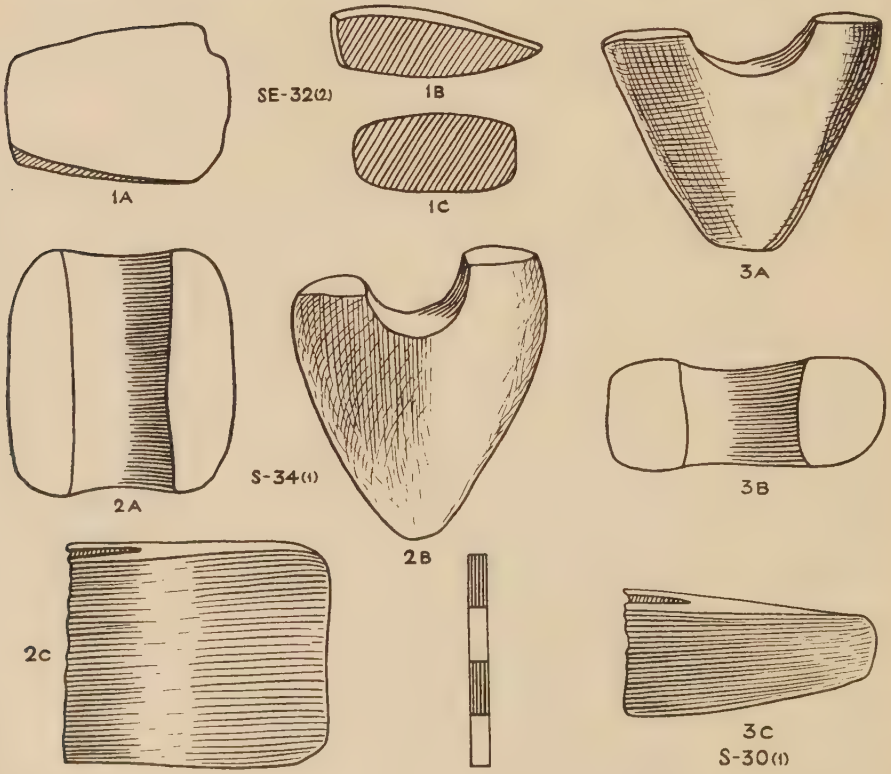


FIG. 17.—PERIOD A. STONE CHISEL AND CELTS.
No. 1 = Fig. 16, 7, No. 2 = Fig. 16, 1, No. 3 = Fig. 16, 2.

II. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

STONE, ETC.

Period A. Celts: four specimens, broken, all bored (Fig. 16, 1, 2; Fig. 17, 2, 3).

Chisels: one small chisel of whitish stone (Fig. 16, 7; Fig. 17, 1).

Pounders, round, of various kinds of stone: four.

Querns, saddle: four (as Fig. 18, 2, 4). *Ibid.*, 5 is unique.

Querns, round:[1] one (*ibid.*, 3).

Whet-stones: three, all plain (Fig. 16, 9, 11).

Saws: two (Fig. 19, 1–5), and numerous chips.

Burnishers: two; one, bored horizontally (Fig. 16, 12). The under surface is much worn and scratched.

Broken stone object of this shape, perforated:—

Stone object, perforated (Fig. 24, 8).

Period B. Celts: five, as above; broken, all bored (Fig. 16, 3–6).

Pounders: two.

Saws: three, and numerous chips (Fig. 19, 6).

Whet-stone: one, rectangular in section, perforated at one end (Fig. 16, 14).

Period C. Celts: one, bored; one, plain.[2]

Chisel: one (*ibid.*, 8).

Pounders: two.

Querns, saddle: five (Fig. 18, 2).

Querns, round: six. Broken (*ibid.*, 1).

Whet-stones, rectangular in section, bored at one end for suspension: two (Fig. 16, 15, 19).

Burnisher: one, with central groove on both faces (*ibid.*, 13).

Saws: three; one is of yellow stone (flint) (Fig. 19, 7–9).

Vase: part of rim and fragments of a vase of Parian (?) marble.

Miscellaneous. A small rounded stone, half-bored (Fig. 16, 18),[3] and a broken piece of pink micaceous stone with three parallel grooves, surface much scratched (*ibid.*, 10). A flat disc, with central perforation, and rough grooves radiating from the centre. Purpose unknown. A round perforated stone (*ibid.*, 17).

[1] Other fragments of round querns belong to flat slabs of micaceous stone, which is quarried locally. The surface is much scratched and worn, and sometimes blackened by fire. This kind of stone, ground to powder and mixed with water, is still used in soap-making; and perhaps supplied the micaceous paint used for the decoration of that kind of pottery characteristic of Dikilitash and Bulgarian sites, of which some specimens were found at Várdino and Gomonitch.

[2] All the celts are fragmentary, and the exact shape of some cannot be determined. The rest are not exactly wedge-shaped as the Thessalian Type E, because the sides round the bore-hole are parallel. Two (Fig. 16, 3, 6) are much thinner than the others.

[3] Cf. Rey, p. 243, Fig. 41, E, F.

Period D. Celts, plain : one.

Chisel : one.
Pounders : two.
Querns, round : three (cf. Period C, note).
Saws : two ; also blade of yellow flint (Fig. 20, 6).
Flat disc, perforated : one.
Also a fragment of a round perforated mace-head (?) of bronzite (*ibid.*, 5).

Period E. Celt, plain : one.

FIG. 18.—QUERNS.

TERRACOTTA. Spindle whorls of seven types (Fig. 21) :—

(1) Cylindrical. Nos 2, 15, 16, 19.
(2) Conoid. Nos. 1, 3, 6.[1]
(3) Spheroid ; but slightly flattened at top and bottom. Nos. 4, 8, 9, 13.
(4) Bi-conical. Nos. 7, 12, 14.
(5) Cylindrical ; with a waist. Nos. 17, 18.
(6) Flat ; disc-shaped. Nos. 5, 10, 11.[2]
(7) Tall pyramidal, pierced horizontally near the top. They are rounded or angular, the usual Hellenic type. Nos. 20–22.[3]

[1] Cf. *Korákou*, Fig. 129, 1 and 2, Early Helladic.
[2] No. 11 has a raised centre.
[3] In No. 22 the perforations do not go right through.

FIG. 19.—STONE SAWS.

FIG. 20.—PERIOD D. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS. (Scale *c.* 1:2.)

The distribution of these types is as follows :—[1]

	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.
Type 1.	10	2	4	2	
Type 2.	2	1			
Type 3.	8	4	4	3	
Type 4.		4	13	11	
Type 5.	1			4[2]	
Type 6.	1		2		
Type 7.				5	3

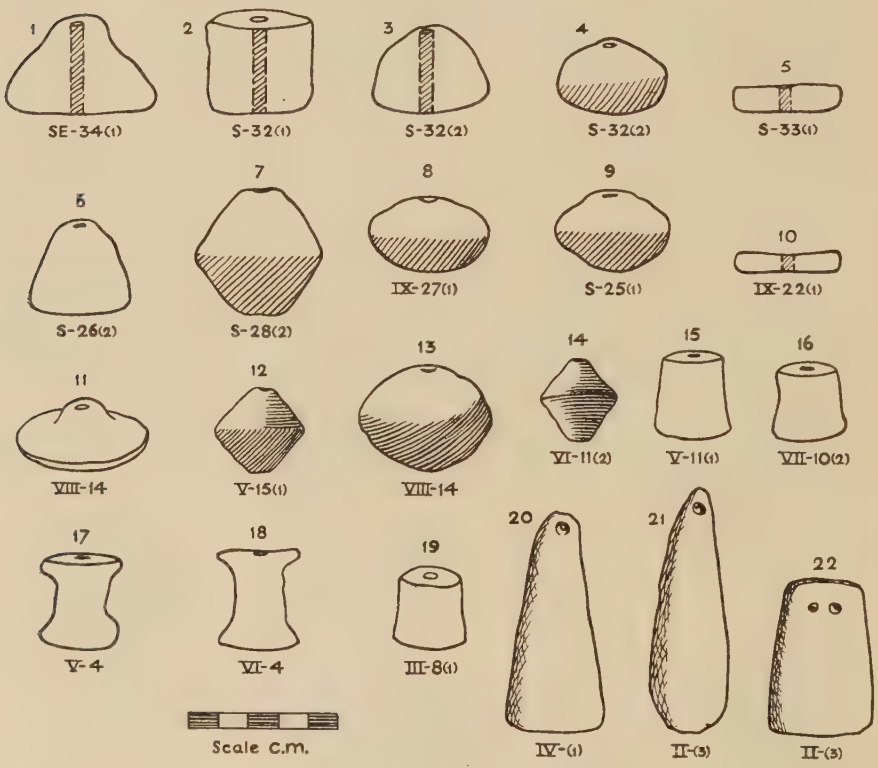


FIG. 21.—SPINDLE-WHORLS. PERIOD A, 1–5.
,, B, 6–8.
,, C, 9–16.
,, D, 17–22.

[1] It will be seen from the table that the cylindrical (Type 1) and the spheroid (Type 3) are typical of Period A, while the conoid (Type 2) is also an early type. Both 1 and 2 occur in Stratum I*a* at Kilindir. The bi-conical (Type 4) seems typical of Periods C and D. Type 7 is Hellenic and Hellenistic.

[2] Of which 3 are in Settlement 20 (4th half-metre).

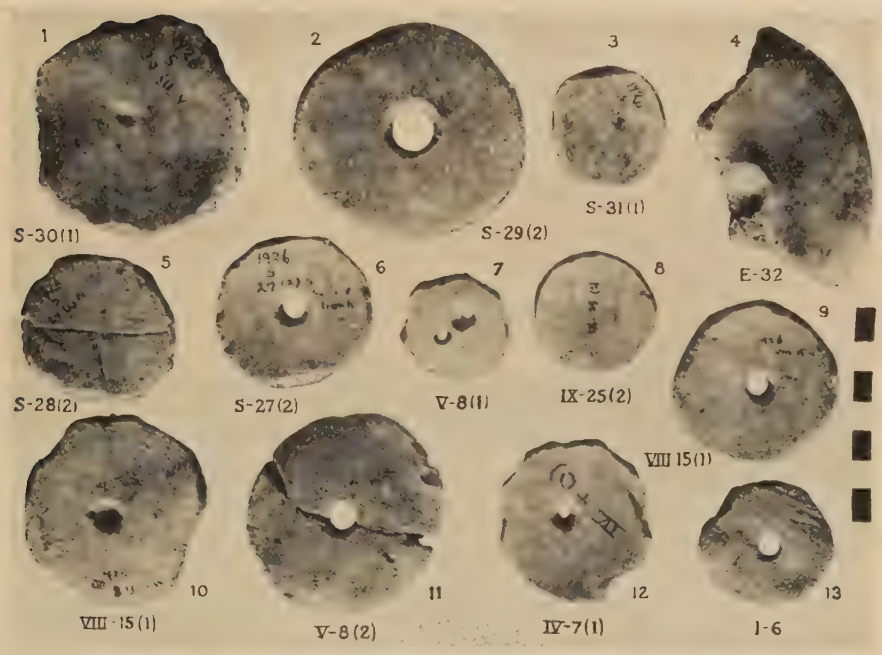


FIG. 22.—TERRACOTTA LIDS.

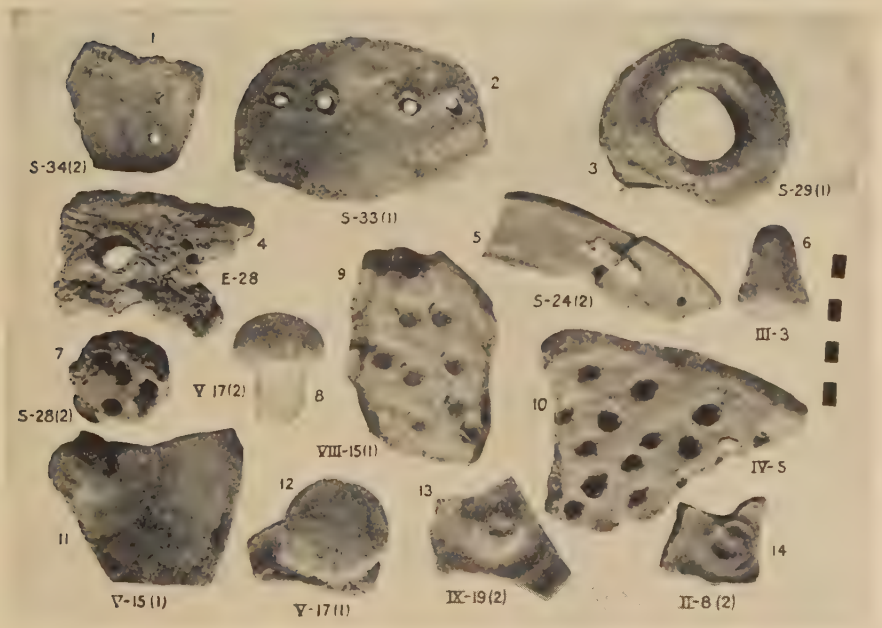


FIG. 23.—MISCELLANEOUS TERRACOTTA OBJECTS.

Flat Discs. Lids (?). Of three types (Fig. 22).[1]
(1) Perforated. (2) Partly perforated. (3) Plain.
They are distributed as follows:[2]

	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.
Type 1.	4	1	3	9[3]	
Type 2.	4		3[4]		
Type 3.	12	4[5]	7		

Lids. Round, with raised knobs: all in Period C (Fig. 23, 11–13).

FIG. 24.—TERRACOTTA WEIGHTS(?). NO. 8 IS OF STONE.

Clay Rings.

Period A. One large (*ibid.*, 3): part of the rim flattened on one side.

Period D. One small: also with rim flattened on one side. The purpose of these rings is unknown.

Weights (?), *or net-sinkers* (?) (Fig. 24).[6] There are two in Period A, one

[1] Cf. Rey, p. 243, Fig. 41.
[2] These discs are really fragments of pots, roughly chipped to circular form.
[3] One has two perforations (*ibid.*, 7).
[4] One striated (Pl. VI. 11).
[5] One has a cross scratched upon it (*ibid.*, 5).
[6] Cf. Rey, Pl. XXXVIII.

in Period B: all pyramidal, perforated horizontally about the middle; twelve in Period C, of which nine are in settlement 18. Of the latter, seven are cylindrical, one pyramidal rounded, one pyramidal, rectangular in section (*ibid.*, 4). Finally must be mentioned a conoid piece of terracotta (Fig. 23, 6) and a small stopper or cork (*ibid.*, 8).

Figurines. Period D. Three: one is sixth-century (Pl. XXI.*b*, 7), one fourth-century (*ibid.*, 23), one indeterminate (*ibid.*, 24).

Miscellaneous (Fig. 23). Flat slabs with numerous shallow circular depressions. There is one in Period C and one in Period D. Both fragments are blackened on the lower side as if they had stood above a fire. Probably griddles (*ibid.*, 9, 10).[1]

In Period A, in the lowest settlement, were found two thin flat slabs, with rounded ends along which runs a row of perforations (*ibid.*, 1, 2). These were probably for the same purpose as the last mentioned.

In Period B (Settlement 9) was found a round lump of unpurified clay with four perforations, one of which does not go right through (*ibid.*, 7).[2]

In the same settlement a thick fragment of very coarse clay containing chopped straw, with several perforations, three close together (*ibid.*, 4): perhaps a rim.

METAL.

Copper or Bronze.[3]

Period A. Fragment in Settlement 4, unworked.
Three fragments of a pin, and an unworked fragment in Settlement 5.
Fragment in Settlement 6, part of handle.

Period B. Fragment of a pin, in Settlement 7.

Period C. Several traces, and a fragment of a blade, in Settlement 10.
Fragment of a blade and unworked fragments in Settlement 11.
Traces in Settlement 12.

Period D. Part of tweezers (?) (Fig. 20, 1), and fragments of a pin, and another small fragment in Settlement 18. Worked fragments in Settlement 20.

Period E. A small button (?), with knob. On the face, a horse and rider.

Iron.

Period D. Socketed iron spear-head, and fragments of iron in Settlement 19 (*ibid.*, 7).

[1] Cf. *B.M. Cat.* A 246.
[2] Cf. Rey, Pl. XXXVII. 1.
[3] Described as such, pending the results of chemical analysis.

Lead.

Period C. Three fragments of vases mended with lead rivets (Pls. X.*b*, 8, XV.*a*, 6, Fig. 23, 5).

MISCELLANEOUS.

Period D. A piece of woven cloth (Fig. 20, 4), and a piece of charred rope.

Bone.

Period A. Pin (Fig. 25, 1).
Fragments of worked bone (*ibid.*, 8, 10).
Period B. Fragments of worked bone (*ibid.*, 9).
Period C. Pins (*ibid.*, 2–7).
Fragments of worked bone (*ibid.*, 11–15).
Period D. Fragment of pin (Fig. 20, 3).

Glass.

Period D. Glass bead, perforated (*ibid.*, 2).

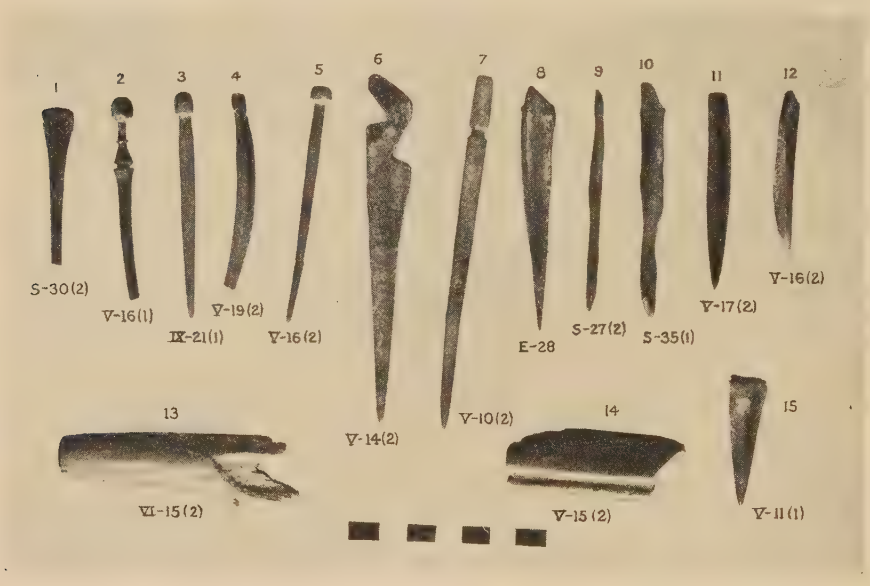


FIG. 25.—BONE OBJECTS.

W. A. HEURTLEY.
R. W. HUTCHINSON.

III. REMAINS OF BUILDINGS, ETC.

Period A.

Settlements 1–3. No traces of stone foundations.

Settlement 4. In South Pit, a line of stones (T).[1]

Settlement 5. In South Pit, a mass of stones with a rough N. and S. alignment (S), *ca.* 3·90 m. long; the width of lower course, consisting of small stones, 1·29 m.; the upper course, consisting of large stones, many of which had fallen, ·60 m.: a group of stones forming a hearth at the same level, and a similar group at a slightly higher level (R) (Fig. 28).

Settlement 6. In South Pit, a hearth (Q) with a pithos-base near (Fig. 27).

FIG. 26.

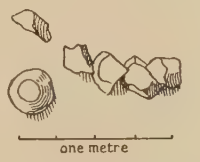


FIG. 27.

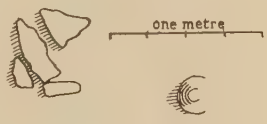


FIG. 28.

HEARTHS IN SOUTH PIT.

FIG. 26.—PERIOD B, SETTLEMENT 7 (Fig. 7, P).
FIG. 27.—PERIOD A, SETTLEMENT 6 (Fig. 7, Q).
FIG. 28.—PERIOD A, SETTLEMENT 5 (Fig. 7, R).

Period B.

Settlement 7. In South Pit, a hearth (P) (Fig. 26): also in § IX.

Period C.

Settlement 9. In South Pit, various groups of stones, some perhaps sockets for upright beams.

In South Pit and § IX, isolated stones, perhaps beam supports.

Settlement 10. In § IX, an isolated stone with a vertical beam-hole at the side.

Settlement 11. In § IX, stones associated with a beam resting on a wall of bricks (O).[2] These walls are perhaps terraces, as Rey suggests, as they are too wide for ordinary foundations. The exact limits are impossible to determine, as the bricks are too friable. This section was at least 2 m. from East to West, and *ca.* 1 m. high.

Settlement 12. In § IV, upright beams and isolated stones.

Settlement 13. In § IV, a course of bricks, burnt beams, etc.

In §§ VIII, IX, a terrace of bricks (N), at least 4 m. from East to West, height *ca.* ·50 m. In it were three vertical holes, filled with carbonised wood. The bricks were 5 to 6 cm. thick.

[1] Letters in brackets refer to Section-drawing, Fig. 7.

[2] To judge by the colour, which is red, these bricks were fired, not sun-baked.

Settlement 14. §§ V, VI, burnt beams.
§ VIII, two groups of stones.
Settlement 15. §§ V, VI, numerous traces of burnt beams.
Settlements 16, 17. §§ V, VI, debris of reed huts, destroyed by fire (M) (Fig. 29).

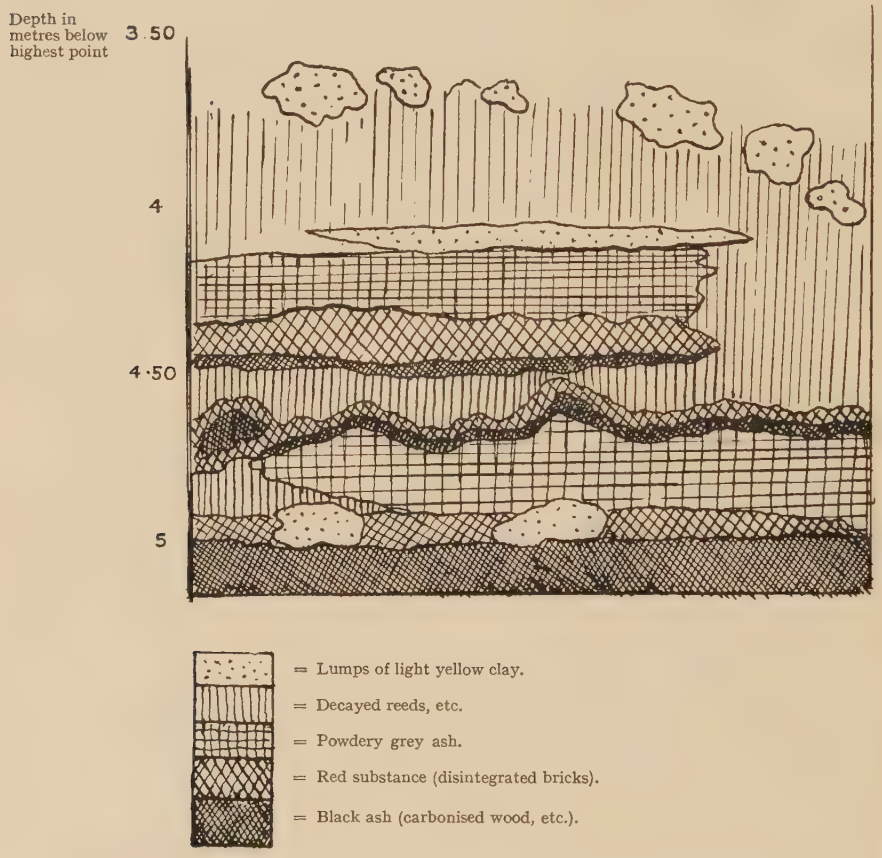


FIG. 29.—PERIOD D. SECTION OF BURNT LAYER IN § VI (Fig. 7, M).

Period D.

Settlement 18. In §§ I, II, foundation-wall running N.E., built of large unworked stones, limestone and soft local stone mixed (L1). Around were lying lumps of yellowish clay, remains of the mud-brick walls. Traces of a parallel wall to the N. (Figs. 30, 31.)

In § III, a floor of river-pebbles and a large flat isolated stone (beam-support) close by (L2) (Fig. 32).

Settlement 19. In §§ I, II, wall similarly aligned to the last, but not quite above it; built entirely of limestone blocks (K): two courses preserved at S.W. end (Fig. 33).

FIG. 30.—PERIOD D. FOUNDATION-WALL IN §§ I, II, SETTLEMENT 18 (Fig. 7, L1).

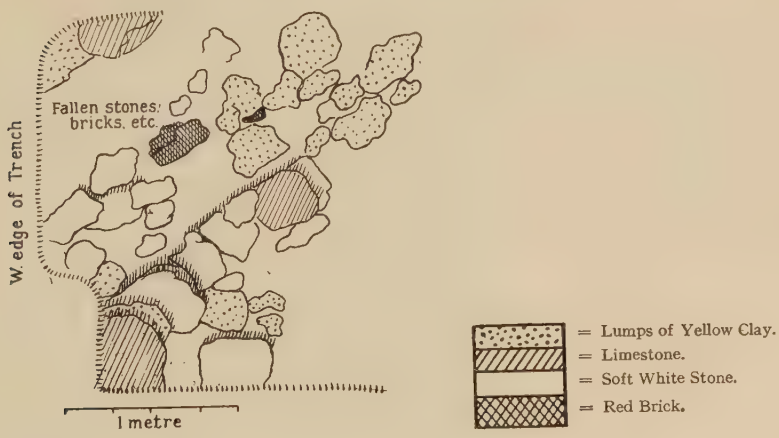


FIG. 31.—PERIOD D. PLAN OF WALL L1 (Fig. 30).

Settlement 20. In §§ II, III, foundation-wall running N.E. (F).
In § II, end of wall running N. and S.: four courses preserved (G) (Fig. 34).

FIG. 32.—PERIOD D. FLOOR OF COBBLES, AND BEAM-SUPPORT IN § III, SETTLEMENT 18 (Fig. 7, L2).

FIG. 33.—PERIOD D. PLAN OF FOUNDATION-WALL IN § I, SETTLEMENT 19 (Fig. 7, K).

FIG. 34.—PERIOD D. HOUSE-WALL AND COOKING-POT *IN SITU* IN § II, SETTLEMENT 20 (Fig. 7, G).

In §§ IV, V, angle of two house-walls, two and three courses respectively (H1) : another wall to E., of four courses, standing at a slightly lower level (H2) (Fig. 35). Below H1 a socket of three stones, two upright and one flat, to receive an upright beam (J).

Settlement 21. In § II, foundation-wall of house (D) and pithoi *in situ*, α, β, γ, ε, ζ (Fig. 37).

In § IV, foundation-wall of house with two rooms (E) : pithos δ to the W. A mass of tiles immediately above (Fig. 36).

Period E. Settlement 22. In §§ II, III, foundation of a round building (A). To the W. a single line of stones (B), resting on which was a large block (lintel?) of soft local stone (C) (Fig. 37).

Lumps of clay with impressions of reeds or of wooden beams occur in all periods (Fig. 38).

FIG. 35.—PERIOD D. HOUSE-WALLS IN §§ IV, V, SETTLEMENT 20 (Fig. 7, H1, H2).

IV. ANIMAL REMAINS, BONES, ETC.[1]

Period A. Ox, boar, horse, goat, elk (Fig. 39).

Period B. Stag, ox, horse.

Period C. Stag (*Cervus elaphus*), boar, goat, dog, horse, ox, tortoise.
Shells : unio.

Period D. Stag (*Cervus elaphus*), boar, horse, dog, cat.
Shells : cardium, spondylus.

Period E. Stag (*Cervus parvus?*), boar.

[1] Information kindly supplied by Dr. Skouphos, of the University of Athens.

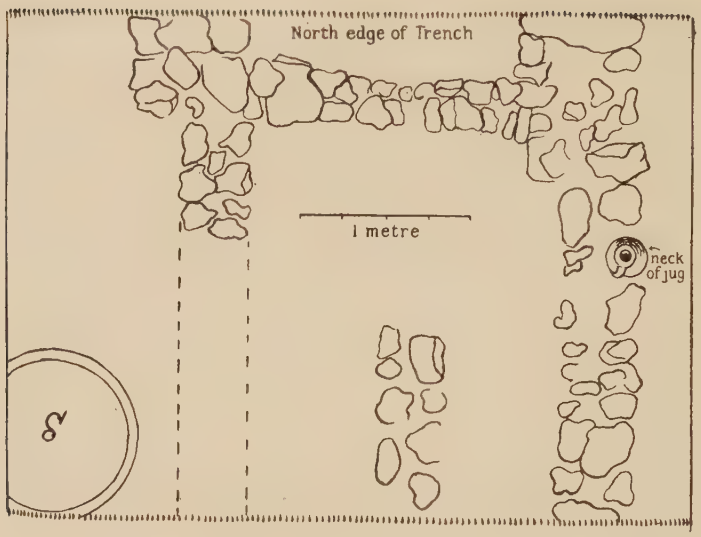


FIG. 36.—PERIOD D. PLAN OF FOUNDATION-WALL OF HOUSE IN § IV, SETTLEMENT 21 (Fig. 7, E).

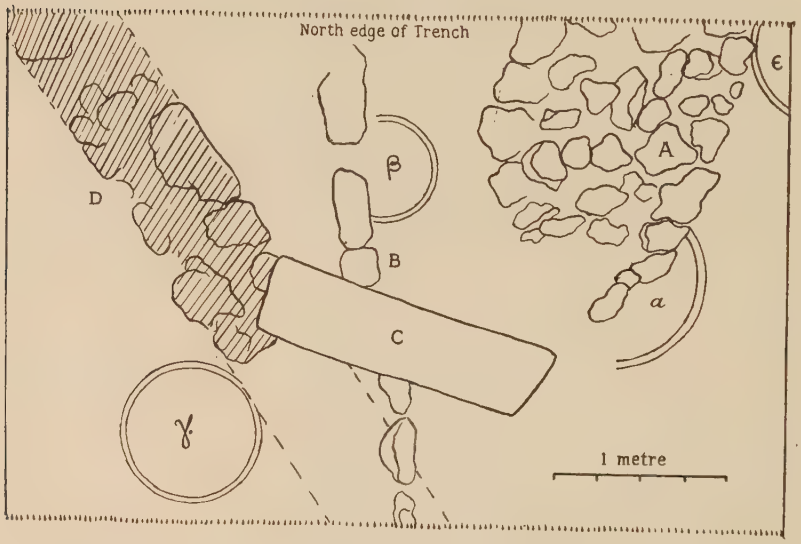


FIG. 37.—PERIODS D, E. PLAN OF FOUNDATION-WALLS, AND PITHOI *IN SITU* IN §§ II, III. WALL D AND PITHOI IN SETTLEMENT 21, WALLS A, B, C IN SETTLEMENT 22 (Fig. 7, A, B, C, D).

RELATION OF THE VARIOUS EXCAVATED SITES IN CENTRAL MACEDONIA TO ONE ANOTHER.

BEFORE considering the relation of Vardaróftsa to sites outside Macedonia, it will be better to try to determine its relation to other excavated sites in Macedonia itself. If the division into periods is applicable to the other sites which lie in Central Macedonia,[1] then the area can be treated as a whole, and the material for comparison considerably enlarged.

With the exception of Várdino and Kilindir the information we possess about the stratification is regrettably vague, but the main outlines are clear, and the sequence of the outstanding pottery types agrees in all.

From the description, illustrations, and diagrams given by Rey, we find that of the material classed as 'primitive' or 'pré-Mycénienne,' the monochrome undecorated and the black polished wares agree with ours in shape and fabric,[2] though the latter seems to have been more common at the other sites than at Vardaróftsa: that his Incised 1 (which we have extended on typological grounds to include the single-line technique of his Style 2) [3] corresponds to our First Incised Style, while the rest of his Style 2 agrees with our Second and Third Incised Styles.

We find also that his striated ware is our Class A 3,[4] and that his 'Géométrique pré-Mycénienne' is identical with our Matt-painted ware (C 2).[5] We also find that his Mycenaean [6] and ours are of the same class (L.H. III *b* and *c*), while his 'Géométrique post-Mycénienne' [7] is our D 4 and D 5. The stratified sequence of these wares at Sedes and Gona is the same as at Vardaróftsa.[8]

Of Kapoudjilar [9] we are only told that the finds are pre-Mycenaean, but from the sherds illustrated [10] we might infer that it had a different

[1] For our purposes, Central Macedonia means the Vardár, Galliko and Vassilika valleys (cf. Map, Fig. 2). The other two excavated sites in Macedonia are both outside the area (viz. Dikilitash and Boubousta).

[2] Cf. especially Rey, Pls. I., II., III. 5, IV. 4, V. 2, VI. 6, 7, VII. 2, and Part II, Figs. 4, 5.

[3] Cf. especially *ibid.*, Figs. 29, 31, and Pl. XVI. 7, Pl. XVII. 4, Pl. XVIII. 2, 5, Pl. XIX. 1–6, and Pl. XXI. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, Pl. XI. and Part II., Fig. 34, 1 and 2.

[5] *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIV.–XXXIII.

[6] *Ibid.*, Pls. XLVII., XLVIII., and Fig. 46.

[7] *Ibid.*, Pls. L., LI. (Pl. XLIX. = D 4).

[8] *Ibid.*, Gona, pp. 149, 229; Sedes, p. 158.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[10] Pls. XXII. and XXIII., Part II., Fig. 35 (crusted ware).

cultural history to that of the other sites, at any rate during the period of Couche A. But since the 'Danubian' sherds seem to be the exception rather than the rule, the bulk of the material is presumably of the same character as that from the other sites.

Turning to the material from Kilindir, we find a very close resemblance exists between Stratum I and our Period A.[1] In Stratum II, Casson's 'Early Incised'[2] = our Second Incised Style, his 'Advanced Incised'[3] = our Third Incised Style, his 'Matt-painted ware'[4] is a local

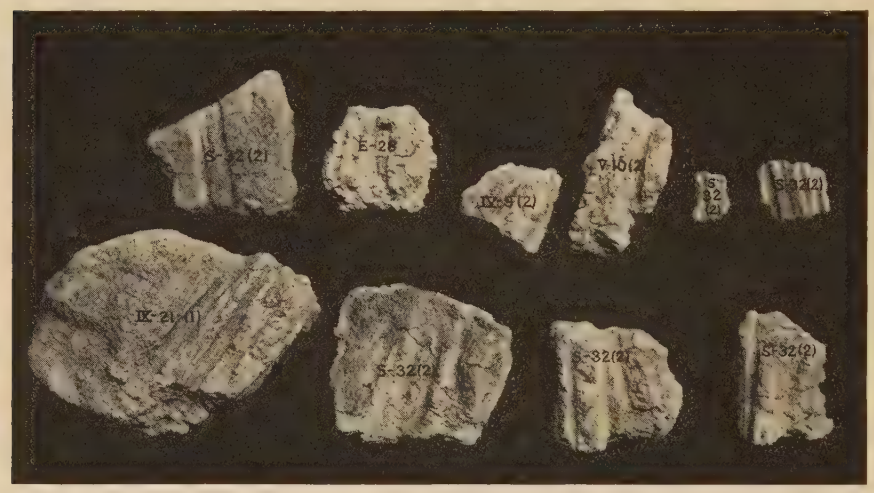


FIG. 38.—LUMPS OF CLAY WITH IMPRESSIONS OF REEDS OR WOODEN BEAMS. (Scale 1 : 6.)

variety of our C 2. The sequence of these wares agrees with that at Vardaróftsa, with the exception that the painted ware begins somewhat later.

From Chauchitza nothing earlier than our Third Incised Style (Period C) is recorded,[5] but from that point the ceramic history of the site seems to be the same as at Vardaróftsa, except that Mycenaean wares are rare,[6] and no intrusive Danubian ware is reported. About the

[1] To mention only the bowls with incurved rim, *Kilindir*, Pl. IX., Fig. 1, the askos, Pl. VIII., Fig. 2, grooved handles, scalloped lugs (not published), and spindle-whorls of our Type 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, Pl. X., Figs. 1, 2, and Pl. XI., Fig. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, Pl. XII. Figs. 1, 2; Pl. XIII. Fig. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV. Figs. 1, 2; Pl. XV. Figs. 2, 3; Pl. XVI. Figs. 1, 2.

[5] *Archaeologia*, Pl. XXVII. Fig. 3.

[6] *Ibid.*, Fig. 1.

Iron Age deposit we cannot speak with certainty, as we are not given any detailed information about it.

Like Kapoudjilar, Várdino in its first Period (Stratum I) stands outside the unity of the other sites, though the excavation of Vardaróftsa has done something to clear up its chronological position. Fragments of bowls with wish-bone handles (A 1γ) appear about half-way [1] through the first Stratum (or Period) in both places, and we may infer that the occupation of Várdino does not antedate that of Vardaróftsa. Bowls

E. 28 (2)

FIG. 39.—PERIOD A. ANTLER OF EUROPEAN ELK. (Scale *c.* 1 : 4.)

For this identification we are indebted to the courtesy of the Director of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington.

with incurved rim (A 1α) and perforated vases of Vardaróftsa type (Period A) are found in Stratum I at Várdino, indicating that there was some intercourse between the two sites. But the general affinities of the Várdino material are certainly not with the other sites, and Frankfort [2] is perhaps right in seeing Danubian connections. If one may judge from sherds picked up recently by Mr. Welch at Drama, these connections were mediated through Western Thrace, rather than directly down the Vardár valley, and the few sherds with graphite decoration found in Stratum I at Várdino [3] support this view. The later strata of Várdino fall into line with the other sites.

[1] *Várdino*, p. 32. [2] Frankfort, pp. 31, 32. [3] *Várdino*, p. 20.

With the reserve, therefore, that the information about the French sites (Gona, Sedes and Kapoudjilar) and about Chauchitza is not as full as we should like, we conclude that there is a general correspondence between the sites, but that Vardaróftsa, Kilindir and Chauchitza are most closely related, while Várdino and perhaps Kapoudjilar in their earliest periods were outposts of the Danubian culture to the North.

We believe that the division into periods and the classification of the pottery which we have outlined for Vardaróftsa is applicable in the main to the other sites, and that, with the exceptions mentioned, what is true for Vardaróftsa is true for Central Macedonia as a whole.

The following diagram is an attempt to shew in schematic form the correspondence between the excavated sites.

Periods.	Vardaróftsa.	Gona.	Sedes.	Kilindir.	Chauchitza.	Várdino.	Kapoudjilar.
A.	A.	Couche A. "Primitive."	Couche A. "Primitive."	I.		I. Danubian (?)	Couche A. "Pré-Myc."
B.	B.			II. *a*, II. *b*			
C.	C. C 2 Mycenaean. Sub-Mycenaean.	Couche B. "Géom. Pré-Myc." (= C 2) Mycenaean.	Couche B. "Géom. Pré-Myc." (= C 2) Mycenaean.	II. *c* "Matt-painted." (= C 2) Mycenaean.	"Matt-Painted." (= C 2) Mycenaean	II. C 2 Mycenaean. Sub-Mycenaean.	Couche B. "Pré-Myc." Site abandoned.
D.	D. D 4, D 5 Hellenic.	Site abandoned.	Couche C. "Géom. Post-Myc." (= D 4, D 5)	Site abandoned.	"Iron Age Pottery." Hellenic.	III. D 4, D 5 Hellenic.	
E.	E. Hellenic. Hellenistic.		Couche D. Hellenistic.		Hellenistic.	IV. Hellenic. Hellenistic.	

RELATION OF CENTRAL MACEDONIA TO NEIGHBOURING AREAS.

Having determined the correspondence of the Macedonian sites with one another, we may now consider the external relations of the area as a whole.

PERIOD A. (All sites except Várdino. Chauchitza not yet occupied.)

The pottery belongs to that family of wares which are found over a wide area stretching on the east from some still unknown point in Anatolia, to Leukas on the west, during the third millennium B.C.[1]

It is not possible here to trace out in detail every point of resemblance between Macedonia and the whole of this area.[2] We shall only select the most striking parallels in each district.

Anatolia (except Troy).

The presence of black-polished carboniferous ware in both areas would not by itself be sufficient to shew relationship, but when it is found in Macedonia in Anatolian shapes (bowls with incurved rim and pierced lugs,[3] jugs with cut-away necks,[4] jugs with slanting mouths,[5] askoid vases),[6] and incised with typical Anatolian motives,[7] that relationship becomes certain.

The grooved handles (A 1β) from Macedonia are paralleled at Boz-eyuk;[8] also the device of sticking the ends of the handles through the wall of the vase (Pl. II.*b*, 6, Pl. IV. 11).[9]

[1] On the precise chronology cf. Frankfort, p. 119 *sqq.*

[2] For a full discussion of the relations of Anatolia to the Aegean cf. Frankfort, *op. cit.*

[3] Cf. *B.M. Cat.* (Fig. 12), from Yortan. (These examples are much smaller than ours.)

[4] Cf. Rey, Pt. II., Fig. 20, and *B.M. Cat.* Figs. 4, 5.

[5] Cf. Rey, Pt. II., Figs. 17, 18, 19, and *B.M. Cat.* Pl. I. A 5, A 10, A 24, etc., and *B.S.A.* xviii., Pl. V. 3, 4, Pl. VI. 4, 6, Pl. VII. 6, 9, 11. In the case of the Pisidian example with its perforation at the base of the handle, cf. the circular impressions at the base of the askoi handles (A 1*β*) in Macedonia.

[6] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1899, Pl. II. 3, 4, 5 (Boz-eyuk).

[7] For vertical zigzags cf. Rey, Pl. XIII. 2, 5, 7, with similar motive (painted) from Yortan. *B.M. Cat.* Fig. 6, Pl. I. A. 28.

For large chevrons composed of bands of parallel lines cf. Rey, Pt. II., Fig. 20 (incised) with *B.M. Cat.*, Pl. I. A 15, A 18 (painted), from Yortan, and *B.S.A.* xviii. Pls. V, VI, VII (grooved) from Senirdje and Bounarbashi.

For 'the Anatolian device of making a ribbon by enclosing rows of small motives, *e.g.* lozenges, by two parallel lines' (Frankfort, p. 59, n. 1), cf. Rey, Pt. II., Fig. 29, and *B.M. Cat.* Fig. 18, Pl. II. A 50, A 53.

[8] *Ath. Mitt.* 1899, Pl. III. 17.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 28. For the Anatolian origin of this practice cf. Frankfort, p. 86, n. 1.

Troy.

With Troy I, Central Macedonia has parallels in the bowls with incurved rims, and tubular lugs,[1] in the ribbed handles,[2] conical feet,[3] and perhaps in the bored celts:[4] with Troy II in the *shapes* of the miniature cups,[5] in the fragment of a face-urn,[6] and in the technique and motives of the First Incised Style[7] (Late Phase), and in the two-handled beakers.[8]

Toumba of Protesilaos.

With the second and third settlements at the Toumba of Protesilaos, the parallels are numerous and striking. Here we find in the second settlement, striated ware,[9] a trimmed conical foot,[10] bowls with incurved rim,[11] a scalloped lug,[12] tubular lugs,[13] and jugs with slanting neck.[14] Pierced discs[15] and bored celts[16] also occur. In the third settlement are some beaked jugs with slanting neck.[17]

Thessaly and Phthiotis.

In Thessaly the bowls with incurved rim and tubular lugs (in a fabric resembling Macedonian A 1*a*) from Tsáni,[18] the askoi[19] from Tsáni and Lianokladi are all paralleled in Period A in Macedonia.

Central Greece.

From Phokis we have the askoi from Hagía Marína,[20] from which site the patterns on the light-on-dark ware have a striking resemblance to those of the First Incised Style in Macedonia.[21] The askoid *Schnabelkanne*,[22] with its vertical bands, filled with double zigzags, and stopping

[1] *S.S.* 24, Type B. Cf. also *ibid.*, 15, with our Pl. I, 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, 209. [3] *Ibid.*, 97–99. [4] Childe, p. 54.
[5] *S.S.* 447–449, 998–1001, 1002, 1679–1686, 1796–1801, 2200.
[6] Rey, Pt. II., Fig. 28.
[7] Cf. especially Rey, Pt. II., Fig. 29 (with its crossed spirals), and *S.S.* 2361: Rey, Pl. XXI. 2, and *S.S.* 2470; *S.S.* 2406, and our Pl. IX.*a*, 3, 4.
[8] Cf. Rey, Pl. IV. 1, 2, 3, and *S.S.* 552, 1996–1999. In all these cases it is not a question of identity, either of shape, size or fabric, but of a similar underlying mentality.
[9] Demangel, *Le Tumulus dit de Protésilas*, Fig. 43.
[10] *Ibid.*, Fig. 47, 1. [11] *Ibid.*, Fig. 52, 3.
[12] *Ibid.*, Fig. 45 (which may belong to first settlement). [13] *Ibid.*, Fig. 41, 14.
[14] *Ibid.*, Fig. 46. [15] *Ibid.*, No. 89, and Fig. 74, 2, 3.
[16] *Ibid.*, Fig. 60, 6. [17] *Ibid.*, Figs. 68, 69, 72.
[18] *P.T.* Fig. 86, *c*, *d*: p. 144 (Γ 3δ).
[19] Urfirnis, *ibid.*, p. 145; p. 178, and Figs. 122, 123.
[20] Fimmen, *Die Kretische Myken. Kultur*, Abb. 128.
[21] *Ibid.*, Abb. 127, 128 (2). [22] *Ibid.*, Abb. 127.

abruptly below the middle of the vase, shews in fact a painted counterpart of the decoration on the Incised vase from Macedonia already mentioned as being typically Anatolian.[1]

Euboean affinities are represented by the shape of the miniature jugs[2] and the incised patterns, including the stamped circles.[3]

The material from Boeotia (Orchomenos and Eutresis) is not yet published, but we have been informed by Miss Goldman that there are close parallels between the latter site and Macedonia in Period A.

Corinthia.

To the Early Helladic ware of the Southern Mainland the parallels are also numerous. The black-polished ware,[4] the use of the stamp for incision,[5] askoi,[6] the grooved handles, jugs with slanting necks,[7] are all represented at Korákou or Zygouriés,[8] while the sauce-boats,[9] the most characteristic mainland shape, are now known to have existed in Macedonia from a fragment in black-polished ware recently picked up by Mr. Welch at Janesh, a few miles N.W. of Salonika. In the light of these parallels, the two-handled jars illustrated by Rey[10] may be regarded as the Macedonian equivalent of the Early Helladic tankards.[11]

Cyclades.

In the Cyclades we find the black-polished ware, askoid-shaped vessels[12] (the duck-vases), jugs with slanting necks,[13] vases shewing the typical Anatolian decoration of sweeping bands of parallel lines[14] which we have also seen in Macedonia, jugs with trumpet-shaped necks on globular bodies,[15] and finally sauce-boats.[16] There are many other points of similarity, which need not be mentioned here.

The parallels could be extended to include Argolis, Crete and Leukás,

[1] Rey, Part II., Fig. 29.

[2] Cf. Papavasileiou, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων*, Pl. *H′*, 1, 4, 5; with our Pl. IV. 5–7. The cylindrical, trumpet-shaped necks on globular bodies are typically Anatolian. Cf. *B.M. Cat.* Pl. II., top row, examples from Yortan.

[3] *Ibid.*, Pl. *Z′*, 6, *H′*, 6.

[4] Askoid pots in this fabric, *Korákou*, p. 4.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 7 (4).

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 7 (3).

[8] Not yet published: information kindly supplied by Dr. Blegen.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 7 (2).

[10] Rey, Pl. IV. 1, 2, 3.

[11] There are no precise parallels from Anatolia, but cf. Boz-eyuk, Pl. III. 11, for a similar shape.

[12] *Phylakopi*, Pl. IV. 6, 8.

[13] *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1899, Pl. IX. 2.

[14] *Phylakopi*, Pl. IV. 6. *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1899, Pl. IX. 2 (incised).

[15] *Ibid.*, 5, 7, 11.

[16] *Ibid.*, 1, 8.

but enough evidence has already been collected to shew that that strong Anatolian element which is discernible in Troy I and II, in Early Helladic and in Early Cycladic Greece, is present also in Macedonia. We may conclude that in Period A, Central Macedonian culture represents a north-westward extension of that Anatolian expansion towards the Aegean to which both archaeological and linguistic evidence point. There is no reason to suppose that the Macedonians maintained with the South that contact which had presumably existed in the original centre of diffusion.

Such changes as occur in Macedonia during Period A [1] may have been mediated through Troy, and may reflect (though faintly) that reinforcement of the Anatolian element which helped to create Troy II out of Troy I.[2]

The resemblances with the Aegean which we have noted betray a common background, not continuous intercourse. That the Anatolian settlers found the country inhabited perhaps by Danubians (Várdino I and Kapoudjilar A) and a few Thessalians is possible, but the material from Gona and Sedes seems to be overwhelmingly Anatolian from the beginning, and the material from Vardaróftsa entirely so, and we may conclude that at these sites and at Kilindir they were actually the first settlers. With the Danubian element the new arrivals had at present little intercourse. It is the Anatolian tradition which henceforth supplies the framework of the subsequent ceramic history of Central Macedonia.

Period B. (All sites except Várdino. Chauchitza not yet occupied.)

Soon after the beginning of this period, certain of the types become rare, such as the bowls with incurved rim and the finer perforated vases. There is no break of continuity, but new influences are at work, which are manifested in the more advanced character of the Incised Style, and in the emergence of the biconical urn. This shape, for the existence of which in Period A there is some evidence, and which becomes common in Period C, must, in default of close parallels elsewhere, be regarded as of Macedonian origin, and, like the bowls with wish-bone handles, a characteristic local form.

One may regard it as simply a bowl with incurved rim (A 1α) to which a conical lid has been added, or, if parallels must be sought, they

[1] *E.g.*, the cups of Trojan shape and the later phase of First Incised Style.
[2] Cf. Childe, p. 61.

may be found in a small incised two-handled urn with the same biconical profile, from Yortan, in the Louvre,[1] or in certain Cycladic jars found at Syra, Naxos and Amorgos, and now in the National Museum at Athens.[2]

That our Second Incised Style (B 3) develops from the First Incised Style (A 4) has already been suggested. The neatly incised latticed triangles[3] on the large fragment from Kilindir[4] derive naturally from specimens like our Pl. IX.*a*, 1, and on the same fragment the rough zigzag enclosed in a band of parallel lines is quite Anatolian in character. Our Pl. IX.*a*, 6, shews a combination of latticed triangle with the new fashion of drawing ribbons with the toothed instrument.[5] Given the toothed instrument with which the striated decoration (A 3) was produced, and given the S spiral, which, it seems, already existed in the First Incised Style (Rey, Part II., Fig. 29, Pl. XXI. 2), but, as it is assigned by Rey to his Incised Style 2, must come late in our Period A, the step from drawing small S spirals with the pointed instrument to drawing large ones with the toothed instrument is a small one and almost inevitable. The impulse which effected this change was possibly due to the proximity of a northern cultural area, where the ribbon spiral had long flourished, and with which the inhabitants of Central Macedonia would by now have established intercourse.[6] But the gourd-like pot with pointed or rounded handles to which the decoration is applied may as well be part of the Anatolian heritage as Danubian. There are at any rate no exact parallels for it elsewhere, and we may regard it as a local creation.[7]

[1] *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Louvre*, Fasc. 4, 1 F*b*, 18.

[2] Only two of these have been published : *'Αρχ. 'Εφ.*, 1899, Pl. IX. 3, 15. The others have horizontal pinched-out ribbon handles.

[3] Cf. Frankfort, p. 59, note 1, for their Anatolian character.

[4] *Kilindir*, Pl. X., Fig. 2.

[5] A fragment from Kilindir Stratum II*a* seems to be a transitional piece. Crossed meanders in the single-line technique are combined with a ribbon, made with the toothed instrument.

[6] The zigzag band, however, running horizontally across the body (Pl. XII.*a*, 1, and *Chauchitza*, Pl. XXVII. 3) is an Anatolian feature (cf. *B.M. Cat.* Pl. II. A 52 and A 53), which already appears in the First Incised Style in Macedonia (Rey, Pl. XVII. 4). The bands or ribbons, composed of parallel lines (usually painted), are also at home in Anatolia, cf. p. 51, n. 7, above.

[7] Cf., however, the jars from Yortan, *B.M. Cat.* Pl. II. A 58, A 60. Take away the trumpet-shaped neck, which in any case looks like an afterthought, and what remains is practically one of our bowls.

If the usual date which is given for the advanced Incised ware of Syra is accepted,[1] a somewhat similar development was taking place there about the same time.

We conclude that during Period B Macedonia remained in a state of comparative isolation from the Aegean, but was being drawn into closer intercourse with the North.

PERIOD C. (All the sites.)

In his report on Kilindir, Casson describes our Third Incised Style (his 'advanced Incised Style') as 'quite distinct'[2] from the Second Incised Style (his 'early Incised'). The study of the Third Incised Style convinces us that this view is wrong, and that it is a rather careless development of the Second Incised Style. There is scarcely a single decorative element in the Third Style which is not already present in the Second. The difference lies in the technique, and in the rearrangement of the motives: pieces shewing both techniques occur (Pl. XIII. 30), while we have shewn that the characteristic shape, the globular bowl with rolled or pointed handles, already existed in Period B,[3] while the meander is found in pieces transitional between the First and Second Styles.[4]

Whatever its origin, the significance of this style of incision is that the incised meandroid patterns are now applied to small biconical urns (Pl. XII.*b*, 2), which thus resemble closely, both in decoration as well as in shape, the earliest 'Villanova' urns of Italy. As the large plain biconical urns, which begin in Period B, are clearly the antecedents of this smaller decorated type, it looks as if the home of the 'Villanova' urn should be sought in Macedonia, the developed class being dated by their stratification to about 1400 B.C., and the prototypes to a much earlier date still, while the earliest appearance of the 'Villanova' urn in Italy must be considerably later.[5]

The painted style of Period C 2 has been adduced to prove invasion from the Danube area on the ground of the resemblance of the broad-plate handles (Pl. XIV.*a*, 1–3) to similar forms in Bosnia, Italy and

[1] Early Cycladic iii. Cf. Childe, p. 44, and *Korákou*, p. 121.

[2] *Kilindir*, p. 65. [3] Cf. p. 18. [4] Cf. p. 55, n. 5, above.

[5] Cf. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, p. 258. The Macedonian examples would at any rate seem to have a better claim than the Pannonian (cf. Childe, p. 269).

elsewhere.[1] Until the prototype can be located in that region at a sufficiently early date, there seems to be no reason why Macedonia should not be regarded as its home, where its development from earlier and simpler forms can be traced (cf. p. 20 above).[2] The shape of the bowls with which it is associated had already appeared in Period B.[3] Rey long ago pointed out that the decoration was the painted version of the Second Incised Style, from which it inherits the latticed triangles, the hanging triangles with prolonged apex, the pot-hook spirals as well as other motives.[4] This painted decoration is also applied to jugs with cut-away necks,[5] of which plain examples are common at Vardaróftsa throughout this period (Pl. XI.*a*), and prove the persistence of the Anatolian tradition.

But if many of the elements in the style are local, there are some that are not. The introduction of the brush and of matt-paint, the angular profile, and the smooth slipped yellow surface of the Vardaróftsa and Várdino bowls are novelties. The closest analogies are with Middle Helladic ware, and especially Yellow Minyan. The resemblance can hardly be fortuitous. It looks as if at this period Macedonia was being brought into contact with the South, and the fragment of a vase of Southern marble (Fig. 16, 16) confirms the supposition.

But, apart from the evidence it supplies of contact with the South, this Macedonian Matt-painted ware has a special interest because it is clearly related to a group of Matt-painted wares that were spread over a wide area. The reasons for thinking that the Matt-painted ware of Lianokladi III is of Macedonian origin have been given elsewhere (*A.J.* p. 57). In the present state of our knowledge, the 'wish-bone' handle may be regarded as the hall-mark of Macedonians, and when it is associated, as at Lianokladi, with Matt-painted ware shewing the characteristic Macedonian pot-hook spiral, we are forced to the conclusion that there was a southward movement from Macedonia to the Spercheios

[1] *Chauchitza*, p. 83, and Frankfort, p. 51, n. 2.

[2] There is an early example (monochrome) with broad plate from Kilindir, Stratum I (not published).

[3] Kilindir, Stratum II.*a* (not published), where it has a 'wish-bone' handle and incised decoration along the rim.

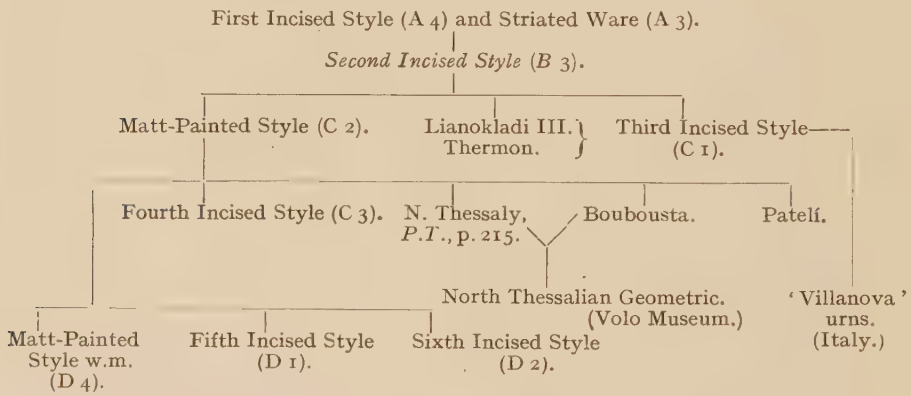
[4] Cf. Fig. 40.

[5] *Kilindir*, Pl. XV. Fig. 2.

valley at this time.[1] At Thermon globular bowls with pointed handles [2] almost identical with the typical Macedonian shape, and monochrome jugs with cut-away necks, are associated with Matt-painted pottery resembling but not identical with that of Lianokladi.[3] Similarly in North Thessaly, at Boubousta on the Upper Haliakmon, and at Patelí on Lake Ostrovo, Matt-painted decoration shewing local variations of the same family appears on hand-made jugs with cut-away necks. Recently Frankfort has identified this ware in Anatolia.[4] It is not possible to discuss here the degrees of relationship between these various localities, but there is good reason for thinking that from the beginning of Period C a wide emigration movement was going on in Macedonia, of which the Lianokladi and Thermon pottery represent the earliest phases. The subsequent phases can be explained by the pressure of Mycenaeans from the South on the one hand, and later by pressure from the North. The arrival of the Danubians at the end of the period is indeed foreshadowed by a few sherds of their characteristic fluted ware at earlier levels (Pl. XVII.*a*, 1–4, 6). Another phase of this emigration movement is perhaps reflected in the appearance of the Villanova urn in Italy, to which reference has been made above.

Of the Mycenaean pottery of this period there is not much to be said,

[1] The Lianokladi Geometric probably derives directly from the Second Incised Style (B 3) rather than from the Painted (C 2), to which it is parallel. A suggested genealogy of the Second Incised Style is set out in the following diagram.



[2] *'Αρχ. Δελτ.*, 1916, p. 185, Fig. 8.

[3] Cf. especially *'Αρχ. Δελτ.*, 1915, p. 264, Fig. 30, with *P.T.* Fig. 125.

[4] Frankfort, p. 171.

except that it is the usual pottery of the Mycenaean expansion, that there is nothing earlier than L.H. III*b*, that it is nearly all made locally, but true to type and shewing no local eccentricities, and is therefore presumably made by Mycenaean potters,[1] and finally that its development can be traced through sub-Mycenaean and the usual bowl of the Geometric Period far into the Iron Age. The stratification of the Mycenaean pottery seems to shew that much of the undistinguished ware with zones of wavy bands which is usually classified, where stratified evidence is wanting, as sub-Mycenaean, was already being made before the end of the Mycenaean Period itself.

The probable origin of the fluted pottery of the burnt layer (Danubian) and its unfluted counterparts has already been indicated. It is clearly outside the Central Macedonian tradition, and its nearest parallels are from the Danube region. We cannot locate it more definitely at present, and we must wait for a fuller publication of the Vinča material.

We conclude from the evidence, that at the beginning of Period C, Central Macedonia was brought into contact with the Aegean, as a result of which the influence of Aegean pottery is perceptible in the local wares. About the same time, a stream of emigration began to flow southward, and can be traced to Lianokladi, and to Thermon. Somewhat later, Mycenaeans arrived, and established settlements on the coast. Emigration from Central Macedonia continued, but now flowed westwards and eastwards. Finally, Danubians arrived towards the end of the period. Throughout the period, however, no complete displacement of the original inhabitants took place. The persistence of the Anatolian tradition is illustrated by the numerous jugs with cut-away necks (Pl. XI.*a*) and the grooved sherds (B 2) with their sweeping bands of parallel lines (Pl. IX.*b*, 5, 6).

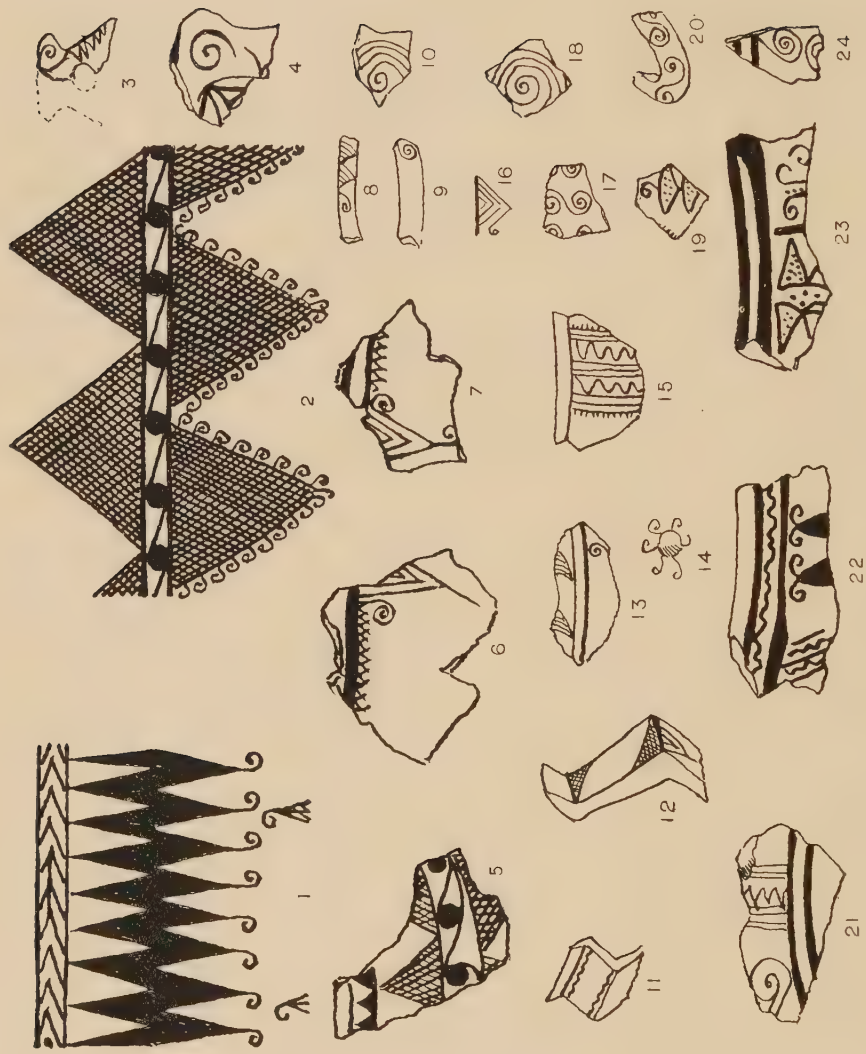
PERIOD D. (All the sites, except Gona and Kilindir.)[2]

The principal types of Period D (at Vardaróftsa) have been fully discussed elsewhere,[3] where an attempt was made to shew that we have

[1] On a calculation from the number of sherds found in the very limited area excavated at both Várdino and Vardaróftsa, the number of sherds in the unexcavated parts must run into many thousands. At Troy, less than 200 sherds are recorded covering a much longer period—and half of them are imported.

[2] Except from Vardaróftsa and Várdino, the information about Periods D and E is rather scanty.

[3] *A.J.*



PERIOD C.

FIG. 40.—DECORATION OF MATT-PAINTED WARE (C 2), FROM VARIOUS SITES.

still to do with indigenous pottery—in the main a continuation of that in Period C, but to some extent a reversion to still earlier types.

Continuity with the past is preserved by the jugs with cut-away necks, now increasingly common, by the bowls with 'wish-bone' handles, though in a slightly changed form, by the local painted ware (now made on the wheel), and by the glazed ware that is derived from the Mycenaean. The stamped circles on the Incised bowls recall the First Incised Style, but the tangentially-joined circles on the same bowls are found on the painted ware of the preceding period.[1] The inference is that, after the upheaval at the end of the preceding period, the site was reoccupied by the former inhabitants or their descendants—perhaps after a period of exile. On their return they were for a short time in contact with the Aegean, where the concentric circle [2] is common property during the Proto-Geometric and Early Geometric Period.

Soon afterwards, Central Macedonia must have lost touch with the Aegean, as these post-Mycenaean types persist unchanged until the fourth century, nor are the stages of ceramic history in the South reflected there. After the middle of the period, however, the Corinthian sherds indicate renewal of contact, and the beginning of Hellenic penetration, which, increasing in the 20th Settlement, becomes intensive in the 21st. To judge from the number of imported sherds, the latter settlement must have been largely Greek.

PERIOD E. (All the sites except Gona and Kilindir.)

The material from Vardaróftsa and Várdino is predominantly Greek. As no other kinds of pottery are recorded from the other sites, it may be inferred that they too were thoroughly Hellenized during this period.[3]

CHRONOLOGY.

The only fixed points in the history of the Vardaróftsa mound are the Mycenaean sherds in Period C, which give a date round about 1350 B.C.; the Corinthian sherds in the 5th half-metre, which place the end of the 19th Settlement in the seventh century B.C.; the sixth- to fourth-century

[1] *Kilindir*, Pl. XIV.; also an example from Chauchitza (Fig. 40, 2, 5).

[2] Cf. p. 28, note 5.

[3] The groups of representative vases (Figs. 14 and 41) serve to illustrate (1) the persistence of types, (2) the individual character of Central Macedonian pottery during the first four periods.

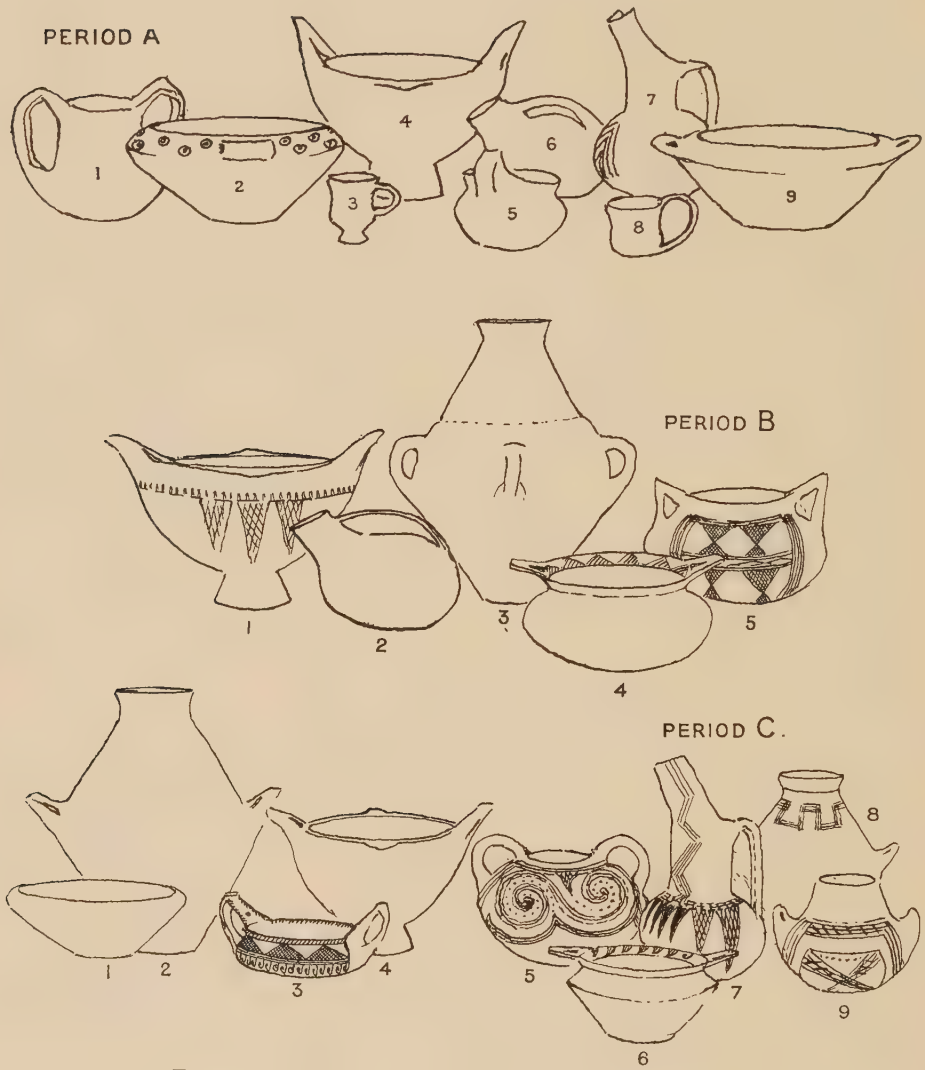


FIG. 41.—TYPES OF CENTRAL MACEDONIAN POTTERY.
INCISED: A, 2, 7; B, 1, 4, 5; C, 5, 8, 9.
MATT-PAINTED: C, 3, 6, 7.

sherds which establish the duration of the 20th and 21st Settlements, and the earliest part of Period E (Settlement 22). For the end of Period E a *terminus ante quem* is provided by the fragment of relief-ware of the Delian series, the beginning of which is assigned to the middle of the third century.[1]

Other evidence for fixing the chronology rests on the assumed end of the sub-Mycenaean period (*ca.* 1000 B.C.) and on the contacts which can be discovered with Anatolia or the Aegean.

With regard to Period A, we have seen reason to think that the earlier half synchronises with Troy I and with Settlements 2 and 3 of the Toumba of Protesilaos; the latter half indicates a closer relationship to Yortan and to Troy II in the shapes of the miniature vases. On these grounds we would assign 2500 B.C.[2] as a rough synchronism for the middle of the period. It is not unlikely that Gona and Sedes were occupied earlier, as their position indicates, but the presence of Thessalian A wares need not postulate a much earlier date—as in Thessaly they overlap with the Second Thessalian Period, and one would quite expect them to survive later still in Macedonia.

For fixing the beginning of Period B we have no tangible evidence of contacts to guide us. But that it was a short period may be inferred from the comparative thinness of the deposit (2 metres). We would therefore suggest a date round about 2000 B.C. for the beginning of it.

For Period C we have the undeniable contact with the Aegean which is reflected in the shape, fabric and decoration (matt-paint) of the local painted ware. The appearance of Yellow Minyan is given by Blegen at 1750 B.C.,[3] and since its derivatives appear fully developed in Macedonia at the beginning of Period C, we should suggest 1700–1650 B.C. for the beginning of that period; and this agrees well with the appearance of the Matt-painted wares (also derived from our Second Incised Style) at Lianokladi and Thermon.

For the end of Period C we have the sub-Mycenaean bowls, which appear in the burnt layer. As these continue into the half-metre above it (Period D), we should place the end of Period C about 1050 B.C.

[1] Courby, *Vases grecs à reliefs*, p. 397.
[2] Cf. *B.M. Cat.* Introduction, xiv.
[3] *Korákou*, p. 121.

The following diagram illustrates the suggested synchronisms :—[1]

Approx. Dates. B.C.	CENTRAL MACEDONIA.	ANATOLIA.	MAINLAND.
3000	*A.*		
	Bowls with incurved rim (A 1*a*).	Troy I, Bowls. *Type B.*	Early Helladic.
2500	Miniature vases.	Yortan, Miniature vases.	
	First Incised Style (A 4), Late Phase.	Troy II, Incised ware. First and second technical periods.	
2000			
	B.		Yellow Minyan.
1700			
	C.		
	Matt-painted (C 2).		
1350	Late Helladic III*b*. Sub-Mycenaean.	Troy VI (2). Troy VII (1).	Late Helladic III*b*. Sub-Mycenaean.
1050			
	D.		Geometric, etc.
	Matt-painted (D 4).	Troy VII (2).	
	Glazed (D 5).		
600	Corinthian sherds.	Troy VIII–IX (1).	
450	Fifth-century Attic.		
350	Fourth-century Attic.		
	E.		
	Fourth-century Attic.		
330	Hellenistic.	Troy IX (2).	
after 250	Relief ware (Delian).		

CONCLUSION.

From the above survey of the pottery and other finds emerges the conviction that we have to do with a culture, primarily local and very conservative, which, while displaying a certain capacity for internal development, and borrowing a little from neighbouring or intrusive cultures, yet deviated only slightly from its origins—and these were Anatolian. The makers of this pottery were a pastoral folk, to judge by the numerous remains of domestic animals and the shapes of their vessels; agricultural, to judge from the various kinds of grain found in their settlements; peaceful (as far as they were allowed to be), to judge by the absence of fortifications and weapons. They were not traders,

[1] Only the more salient parallels are selected.

though it was no doubt to exploit their resources of timber, etc., that the Mycenaeans settled on their coast. That they lived by hunting also, is shewn by the stags' horns and boars' tusks: the boar is still hunted on the opposite bank of the Vardár in the sparse woods that mark the site of the primeval forest. They were familiar with the art of weaving, and could from the earliest period fashion bored and polished stone celts, and blades, saws and sickles of stone and flint. They were also early acquainted with metal.

That they should be unaffected by the proximity of the already ancient and not wholly alien culture to the North was unlikely, and we have detected traces of that influence in the pottery of the Second Period. The peculiar position of Macedonia has always exposed it to alternate and sometimes simultaneous pressure from North and South. And what is happening to-day, when it is still the meeting-place of opposing forces, Slav and Hellenic, seems to have been happening in the Third Period, when we have seen evidence of an extensive emigration, and of the reasons for it. The pressure of Mycenaeans from the South, who, though they came as traders, desired to get a footing in the country, and—more insistent—the pressure of Danubians from the North, compelled the Macedonians to seek new homes, East and West and South; and we have found traces of them as far afield as Italy and Anatolia. But a remnant always stays behind, and after the invaders have disappeared, it is that remnant that reoccupies the sites of Vardaróftsa, Várdino, Sedes and Chauchitza.

In the Hellenic wares of the seventh to third centuries B.C. we recognise stages of Hellenic penetration, while the Hellenic remains in the 21st Settlement no doubt reflect an historical event, the first 'practical experiment in proselytising Hellenism,'[1] when Olynthos established a protectorate over the Macedonian plain-cities in 383 B.C. The principal remains of the last Settlement (22) are to be found on the High Table. Those on the Toumba, however, such as they are, reflect faithfully the known relations of Macedonia and Greece at that time.

If our conclusions from the ceramic evidence are correct, the inhabitants of Central Macedonia at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. had this much claim to be considered Greeks, that they represented, in

[1] Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, p. 189.

a purer form than the Greeks themselves, that early Anatolian stock which formed one of the principal ingredients of the Greek race. In view of this possibility, one cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that, during the last few years, a village of refugees from Pontus has sprung up round the spring at Vardaróftsa, that first attracted Anatolian settlers some 5000 years ago.

W. A. HEURTLEY.

Addenda and Corrigenda.

P. 16, line 13. Cf. Palestinian 'combed-faced ware.' Bliss-Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, Pl. XXVII. 1, 2, 4–6.

P. 17, line 13. These scalloped lugs seem identical with the 'wavy handles' of Early Pre-Israelite jars in Palestine. Cf. Bliss-Macalister, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIII. 2, and Pl. XXVI. 8–12.

P. 18, line 16. For a complete vase of this class, cf. *Liverpool Annals*, Vol. XIV. Pl. 81.

P. 20, line 27. To judge from a restored vase of this class in the Salonika Museum, the rims are somewhat more vertical than in Yellow Minyan examples.

P. 30, line 19. The alabastron is sixth century B.C.

P. 53, line 6. When this article was already in print, a preliminary Report was published (*Bulletin of the Fogg Museum* of Harvard University, 1927).

P. 55, note 4. That the Second Incised Style develops directly from the First is better illustrated by the material from Stratum II*a* at Kilindir, where the designs are almost exclusively rectilinear, and the toothed instrument is rarely employed.

P. 55, note 7. It is clear from broken specimens from Yortan in the Constantinople Museum that the necks were made and put on separately.

P. 58, line 3. Also bowls with 'wish-bone' handles.

P. 62, Fig. 41. Period B, 4, Period C, 6. The 'wish-bone' handles should be set at an angle, *not* horizontally.

SOME NOTE-BOOKS OF SIR WILLIAM GELL

I.

A SMALL group of note-books containing memoranda, itineraries, copies of inscriptions, and miscellaneous sketches by Sir William Gell was recently acquired by the British School at Athens,[1] and it has seemed worth while to publish the following brief account of their contents, together with a rather fuller description of the two most important features which they present. These are (1) the copies which Gell made of numerous inscriptions, and (2) his own brief diary for the first part of his mission to Asia Minor on behalf of the Dilettanti Society in 1812—13.[2]

The six note-books comprise the following:

(1) Size $7\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ ins., bound in dark blue leather; 85 ff. and several more *folia* inserted later. Ff. 1–30 contain itineraries, together with sketches, lists of bearings, and texts of inscriptions, dealing with Attica, Boeotia, Phokis, etc., and Aegina. Much of this was recast later in his *Itinerary of Greece* (1819). Ff. 31–55 contain miscellaneous notes, mostly references to ancient authorities for parts of Greece not covered in the first portion of the book, but very fragmentary and unsystematic in arrangement, and a few inscriptions; and several ff. are almost or entirely blank. Ff. 56–82 are blank. The numerous inscriptions contained herein are dealt with below (pp. 70 ff.).

(2) Size $4\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ ins., bound in red leather; 30 ff., written closely on both sides. Inside of cover, and ff. 1–4 (*recto*), contain miscellaneous notes, mostly referring to Eleusis, and including some inscriptions from that site (see p. 79 f.). Ff. 4 (*v.*) and 5 (*r.*) contain a carefully-drawn panoramic sketch in ink of Athens from the north; f. 5 (*v.*) is blank. With 6 (*r.*) begins the brief narrative of his voyage from Athens to Smyrna and thence *via* Chios, Samos, Didyma, and Cnidus, to Rhodes. The period covered is April 30th to July 17th, 1812,

[1] Dr. Thomas Ashby obtained them in 1923, together with some concerning Italian sites, from a bookseller at Naples (Gaspare Casella, Cat. LXXIV, No. 154), and most kindly allowed the British School to acquire those that had any bearing on Greek lands.

[2] For Gell's part in this expedition see the *History of the Society of Dilettanti*, pp. 154 ff. (and introduction to Pt. ii., to be published in *B.S.A.* xxviii.).

when he landed at the last-named island. This diary will be transcribed, and the inscriptions contained in it discussed, in the second part of this article, in *B.S.A.* xxviii.

(3) Size $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ ins., bound in soft brown calf; 18 ff. only. Ff. 1–7, closely written on both sides, contain various compass-bearings and a few distances and other notes relative to Patras, Oxia, Missolonghi, and Ithaca. The rest is blank. (No date.)

(4) Similar to No. 3, but interleaved with blotting-paper. The only contents of possible archaeological value are the following sketches in ink: f. 1, The Acropolis, from the west (restored); f. 2, Aegina, 'temple of Jupiter Panhellenius' from the east (restored); f. 3, Mycenae, general plan (no tholos-tombs shewn); f. 6, Scio; f. 7, 'Scio, the capital of Arcadia,' signed 'Claude Gell' (a romantic reconstruction of the landscape with appropriately-placed classical temples, in the style of Claude); f. 11, the isthmus of Corinth, from above Loutraki (?); f. 13, 'Delos from Rhenea.'

(5) Size $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ ins., bound as the last two; 46 ff. Styled 'Book of Marble Acroteria, etc.'; contains ink-drawings of antefixes and other miscellaneous architectural details, mostly in Athens. Some are apparently based on, or copied from, drawings by Baron Haller.[1] Several small drawings have been inserted, on separate sheets of paper. It also contains: f. 29 (*v.*), an unfinished pencil-sketch of Athens from the north; f. 31 (*r.*), another, from a point further west; a ruined Byzantine church appears in the foreground, l., below which is written 'what is this church?'; f. 36 (*v.*), 'Camera Lucida. T. Minerva W. From Philopappus Telescope' (a careful drawing of the west front of the Parthenon); f. 37 (*v.*), 38 (*r.*, *v.*), various compass-bearings in Zante, from Acrocorinth, and a few in Attica; f. 41 (*r.*), another view of Athens with the Acropolis, nearly as on f. 31; f. 42 (*r.*), Athens, with Hymettus behind, and the Acropolis on extreme r., from N. W. of the Theseum; f. 43 (*r.*), 'Logothetis House Athens,' a carefully finished ink drawing; on end-paper, a sketch-plan of the Propylaeum, etc. at Eleusis.

(6) Size $4\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ ins., bound in red leather, with metal clasp; 45 ff., and insides of covers written on. Styled on cover 'Angles,' and contains lists of compass-bearings, and a few line-bearings and distances, on the Greek mainland, in the Ionian Islands, etc. (none in Asia Minor).

It is obvious from the above that these note-books do not add very much to our knowledge either of Gell himself or of the monuments which he saw, and we cannot claim for them the value, from the topo-

[1] A few are definitely acknowledged, others have the initials 'B. H.' attached. For Baron Haller von Hallerstein see (*inter alia*) Cockerell, *Travels in S. Europe, etc.* [1903], p. 44; for a comparison of his work with that of Lord Elgin's artist Lusieri, H. W. Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece, etc.* (1820), vol. ii. pp. 331–4, cf. *J.H.S.* xxxvi (1916), p. 169 f.; for his work at Aegina, Furtwängler, *Aegina*, I. pp. 12–16.

graphical standpoint, which attaches to his drawings.[1] Their main interest lies in their illustration of his methods of research, and, especially for his itineraries, they confirm what his published work would have led us to expect, namely, a painstaking accuracy in the noting of landmarks, whether of the classical period or later, throughout his routes, and a determination to furnish the most exact indications possible for travellers who might follow in his footsteps, both as to direction and distances. His copies of inscriptions seem on the whole to be commendably accurate, though not by any means flawless. It seems that he shewed some of them to Leake, through whom they subsequently reached Boeckh and thus were published in his Corpus (*C.I.G.*); many others had been already copied by other travellers, and in some cases we shall see that Gell's readings are valuable as establishing a more trustworthy text; and lastly there are several which can now be published here for the first time, alike among those from the Greek mainland and from Asia Minor.

The inscriptions contained in note-book (1) have been studied, and where possible identified, by Mr. R. P. Austin, who worked through them at my suggestion. To his contribution I have added below a short account of the other Attic inscriptions contained in note-book (2).

A. M. WOODWARD.

Diary No. (1), as stated above, contains some of the material which Gell published in his *Itinerary of Greece* (London, 1819). The *Itinerary* was intended as a guide to travellers and was compiled accordingly, that is to say, not in the form of a connected narrative, but as a series of Routes, each with a list of the successive points of interest and marks for identification along it, and the time or distance between them. The Diary is less full than the *Itinerary*, which doubtless was amplified from the accounts of other travellers, but it contains numerous original drawings, and copies of nearly one hundred inscriptions which do not appear in the work as published.

The journeys recorded in the Diary do not cover exactly the 'Routes' given in the *Itinerary*, and the order and arrangement are not precisely

[1] For a summary of Gell's sketch-books preserved in the British Museum (Department of Prints and Drawings) see Hasluck, *B.S.A.* xviii. (1911–12), p. 272 f., and Binyon's *Catalogue*; the material which Gell brought home for the Dilettanti Society will be referred to in part ii. (*B.S.A.* xxviii.).

similar in both. However, there is enough correspondence to make the relation between them quite easy to trace. The Routes in the *Itinerary*, of which the Diary gives the substance, are the following :—

Nos. 1–6, 12, 23–32, 34–38, 45, 46, 48–60, 67, 68, 100.

In most instances no dates are given for individual journeys, but the Diary belongs to the second half of the year 1805, and there is only one later record—that of a journey in Boeotia and Phokis in the winter of 1806 (Routes 50, 54, 56, 57), contained on two inserted pages.[1]

The original drawings in the Diary include three of the Cave at Vari, a plan of the Corycian Cave, two water-colour paintings of vases, a sketch of a Greek marriage ceremony and many diagrams of architectural fragments.

A few pages following the record of the journeys contain miscellaneous notes, mainly topographical.

The inscriptions, which are all quite short, were for the most part included within the text as it was compiled, or copied into blank spaces afterwards. But there is a small group of pages at the end of the text devoted almost entirely to inscriptions. These are chiefly from stones seen by Gell in and about Athens : a few are acknowledged as copies of versions made by others.

There is nothing to gain by preserving the order of the inscriptions as they occur in the Diary, and I have accordingly divided them for treatment into two classes : first, those of which equally good or better versions have already been published and which therefore require little or no comment ; and second, those which are either unpublished or contain material which makes them worth reproducing. The former class will generally be dismissed with a reference to their numbers in the *Corpus*.

References are to *I.G.* throughout except where otherwise stated.

CLASS A.

I.G. Vol. i². (*Ed. Min.*) 324 frag. h. ; 768 ; 801.

ii. 594 (last seven lines) ; 1245, Gell's text gives the four letters missing from the end of l. 1 ; 1556, two copies, l. 1, ΕΥΑΝΔΡΙΑ ; 1557 ; 1596, l. 2, ΑΕΙΑΤΗΝ ; 2995 ; 3443 ; 3500.

[1] There is one reference to the site of Delphi in 1834, which shews that Gell was still in possession of this volume at that date.

iii. 142; 918; 1322; 1432; 3520; 3826, with a few letters of another mutilated inscription; 3965.

iv. 35; 787.

C.I.G. 1549; 1550 (Gell gives *Δεξικλέο[ς]* for *'Αλεξικλέος*); 1551.

vii. 26; 94; 95; 97; 98; 99; 1684; 1688, first three lines; 1787 (now in Thebes Museum); 1869; 1987; 2078, G.'s copy confirms Lolling's reading MITION against Dittenberger's emendation *Πιτίων*: 2111 ("inscribed below ill-cut man-and-horse relief," G.); 2123, second line; 2130 (grave relief: G. gives sketch); 2244; 2596, G., as Lolling, gives *Εὔπρασις*; 2871, first six lines; 2945; 2972; 3122.

(viii.) *C.I.G.* 1694, left fragment; 1722 (Delphi).

The two inscriptions of the Corycian Cave:

(*C.I.G.* 1728; *Ath. Mitt.* iii. 154; *Δελτ.* VI. 143);

Gell's copy does not give any fresh light on the mutilated inscription at the mouth of the Cave.

ix. 1. 23; 25; 29; 54; 57; 344; 346.

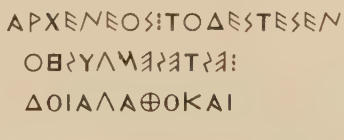
Included in this class are copies of three inscriptions from Kartheia (Keos) noted by Gell as found bv Bröndsted.

xii. 5. 548; 556; 566.

C.I.L. iii. 519 and iii. *Suppl.* p. 1311 (a Latin inscription seen at Patras, now in the British Museum).

CLASS B.

1. On a marble: Athens.



References: *C.I.G.* 22;[1] Rose, *Inscr. Gr.*, p. 21;[2] Pittakis, *Anc. Ath.*, 461; Roberts, 39; *I.G.* i. 465 (=i.[2] 974).

[1] Pub. 1825; see *Rev. Arch.* vi. (1905), p. 293.
[2] Pub. 1825.

The early editors, Boeckh and Rose, published this inscription just as it is given above, regarding the first line as the title,

'Αρχένεος τόδ' ἔστεσεν

and the remainder as part of an hexameter,

ἔστεσ' ἐνγὺς hοδοῖ' ἀγαθὸ καὶ -⏑⏑-⏑

The editors of *I.G.* i. rejected the last five letters in l. 1, which make the line unmetrical, and read thus :—

'Αρχένεος τόδε σ[ἧμα ⏑-⏑⏑|-⏑⏑-⏑]
ἔστεσ' ἐνγὺς hο|δοῖ' ἀγαθὸ καὶ [σόφρονος ἀνδρός].

Boeckh used for his publication copies made by Mustoxidis and Fourmont. Rose used those of Fourmont, Tupper and Hughes.

Boeckh notes that in l. 1 of the inscription Fourmont's copy did not give these last five letters, which vitiate the metre : *i.e.* Fourmont read ΑΡΧΕΝΕΟΣΤΟΔΕΣ

Rose asserts that the three copies used by him were all alike, except that Fourmont left out a letter in l. 2. This means that neither Tupper nor Hughes gave the unmetrical reading in l. 1. But apparently out of deference to Boeckh, Rose adopted his version.

The only authority hitherto for the older version would seem to be the copy sent to Boeckh by Mustoxidis. But now Gell's text appears and reproduces the error, if error it be. Can the solution be that Gell was originally responsible for this reading and that he gave his copy to Mustoxidis? This seems a more likely hypothesis than that Gell received it at second hand from Mustoxidis, because the latter lived in Corfu. An examination of Mustoxidis' papers might clear up the point.

It has been brought to my notice by Professor Wilhelm that there are two archaic metrical inscriptions in which occurs the phrase, *ἐγγὺς ὁδοῦ*, namely, *I.G.* i.² 995, 1026.

He suggests that perhaps this inscription also should be so read, *i.e.*

ΒΟΔΟΙ instead of ΒΟΔΟΙ

The hiatus between *ὁδοῦ* and *ἀγαθοῦ* is not impossible.

2–10. The Vari Cave inscriptions :

I.G. i. 423–431 (= i.² 780–789).

Gell's texts add nothing to what is known of these inscriptions: in No. 423, l. 4 he gives *Νυμφὸν*, which is now the accepted reading, instead of *Νυμφῶν* of the earlier *Corpora*.

11. 'On the way from Athens to Hymettos.'

ΔΑΜΑΧΟΥΕ
ΚΗΦΙΣΟ ΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΙΚ

Cf. ii. 2196. Gell's text gives a little more than the *Corpus*: it may perhaps be restored thus:

- - - - - - - (Λ)αμάχου Ε[- - - - - γυνή]
Κηφισο[κ]λέους Κικ[υννέως θυγάτηρ].[1]

12 and 13.

'On lead at Athens.'

12.

ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΧΘΟΝΙΩΙΚΑΙΤΗΙΧΘΟ
ΝΙΑΙΚΑΙΤΟΙCΧΘΟΝΙΟΙCΠΑCΙ
ΠΕΜΠΩΔΩΡΟΝ
ΚΑΤΑΧΘΟΝΙΑΥΤΟΝΑ - -
ΤΙΡΑΓΕΤΕΑΑΥΤΟΥ
ΔΥΝΑΤΑΑΥΤΟΥΧΟΝCΑΙ, etc. (*sic*)
I.G. iii. 3, 99, first six lines.

13.

ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ CΚΟΤΕΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΧΟΝΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ
ras. ΕΙC ΟΛΟΥC ΤΟΥCΘΕΟΥC
ΠΑCΑΓΗCΠΕΜΠΩΔΩΡΟΝ ΑΠΟΚΑΤΩΕΙCΤΗΝΓΗΝ
ΟΠΡΩΗΝ ΑΓΕΤΕΑC ΠΟΛΙΤΗC.
New text.

These two "defixiones" were apparently seen by G. at the same time: No. 12 gives the first six lines of iii. 3, 99, which was found in a grave near Athens, and from the similarities between the two it is probable that the other came from the same grave. The different forms of *omega* in 12, ll. 1 and 3, of *epsilon* in 13, l. 2, and the omission of *theta* in 13, l. 1 are presumably copied faithfully from the originals.

[1] Some relationship must exist between these individuals and [*Λ*]*άμαχος Κηφισοκλ*[*έους*] *Κικυννεύς*, *I.G.* ii². 478 (cf. Kirchner, *Prosop. Att.*, No. 8393). [A.M.W.]

In No. 12 the *Corpus* version reads,

l. 5. ΤΙΡ *ἀγαθέ, ἃ αὐτοῦ* - - - -

l. 8. *τύχην αὐτοῦ ἄγετε ἀ[ϊδίαν*

With the help of Gell's text I propose to restore in both lines ΑΓΕΤΕΑ, *Ἀγετέα*, genitive of *Ἀγετέας*, a name unknown hitherto but thoroughly vouched for by the last line of the new text, No. 13, *ὁ πρώην Ἀγετέας πολίτης*. In No. 13 the phrases *εἰς ὅλους τοὺς θεούς* and *ἀποκάτω εἰς τὴν γῆν* have a strangely unclassical sound and are reminiscent of the modern idiom.

For the use of *ὅλος* = *πᾶς* Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* says: "Only in late poets, *e.g.* see *Anthol. Palatina*, v. No. 217, l. 5, *χρυσὸς ὅλους ῥυτῆρας, ὅλας κληΐδας ἐλέγχει*. 'Gold proves vain all chains, all bars.'

For the word *ἀποκάτω* = *ὑποκάτω* see Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Gram.*, § 1508.

The dedicatory formula *πέμπω δῶρον* is found also in *Anthol. Palatina*, vi. Nos. 325, l. 2, 328, l. 4, 329, l. 2.

The "defixiones" found in Attica are best studied in *I.G.* iii. 3, those found elsewhere in A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904). For the dating of the Attic examples see A. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, vii. 105 ff.

14. Keratia, on a piece of a column of late date.

ΙΝΗΣΑΙ
ΡΙΣΤΟΚ
(Traces of 3rd line.)

15. Daphnae:

ΦΙΛΟΙΜΕΝΗΜΕΛΑΝΩΠΟ
ΑΦΙΔΝΑΙΟΥ ΓΥΝΗ
ΕΝΟΙΣΑΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΤΕΤΟΓΡΥΣΙΤΛΛΛΟ
ΠΑΣΝΑΡΟΦΘΙΜΝΗ

Φιλο[υ]μένη Μελανώπο[υ]
Ἀφιδναίου γυνή
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
πᾶσ[ι]ν ἀ(π)οφθιμ[έ]νη.

16. 'Way to Oros Mnematos' on a tomb.

ΣΟΦΟΚΛΗΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ
ΙΕΥΣ

Σοφοκλῆς|Ἀπολλοδώρο[υ(?)]
- - - - *ιεύς.*

17. Aegina.

In the church of " Panagia Skemesis " (*τῆς Κοιμήσεως*).

ZHCAIC	ЄYTYXI	*Ζήσαις*	*Εὐτύχι*
ЄYΛΓPI	ЄYHΠO	*Εὔαγρι*	*Εὐήπο|λι*
	ΛI		

ΙЄΓΑCCCOTHPA – – –

Inscription on a pediment ornamented in relief with a large amphora in the centre and a palm leaf curving inward from each angle (sketch given).

[The two recipients of this dedication (if this was the nature of this inscription) are apparently addressed respectively with the acclamations *ζήσαις* and *εὐτύχ(ε)ι*. Such phrases are often engraved on tombstones as addressed by the deceased to their survivors, but also occasionally appear at the foot of dedications. On tombstones they are found at Thessalonika (*C.I.G.* 1961), and often in Asia Minor and further east. On dedications, cf. *B.S.A.* xviii. p. 148, No. 6, l. 17, at Beroea in Macedonia ; *C.I.G.* 4346, at Side; and *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 123 f., No. 18 (more correctly given by Sundwall, *Jahreshefte*, xv. (1912), *Beiblatt*, pp. 273 ff.), at Andeda in Pisidia. I know no other example of *ζήσαις*, though *ζῆθι* is not rare (cf. *C.I.G.* Index, *s.v.*) in funerary inscriptions.

The other letters seem unintelligible.—(A.M.W.)]

18. ' Inscription at Argos with a basso rilievo of a female bust with crescents on her head and shoulders, seven stars and the twelve Zodiacal signs.'

ΙΑΙΑ · ΦΙΑΙΝΦΙΡΙ · ΑΝΩΘΡΑ · ΛΥΚΥΣΥΝΤΑ
ΔΩΔΕΚΑΚΙΣΤΗΣΑΒΑΩΘ . ΑΒΩΘ . ΕΡΣΑΣ

This is almost certainly a mystic inscription or incantation : for *Σαβαωθ* in an incantation compare *I.G.* xiv. 859 (quoted iii. 3, p. xv.).

19. Tegea :

ΚΛΕΟΝ
ΑΒΚΟΙΑΣ
ΔΑΜΟΚΛΕΣ
ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΣ
ΣΟΣΙΑΣ
ΚΛΕΤΕΑΣ
ΛΑΝΠΕΤΙ

Gell's text is interesting as being the document for the first *Corpus* version (*C.I.G.* 1512). *I.G.* v. 2, 175 copies it: note that G. wrote ᴀ not ᴀ.

20. The well-known inscription on an Olympic votive helmet found in the river Alpheus in 1795 and now preserved in the British Museum,

Τἀργ[εῖ]οι ἀνέθεν τοῖ ΔιϜὶ τὸν Ϙορινθόθεν.

C.I.G. 29; Hicks and Hill, *Gk. Hist. Insc.*, 31; Roehl, *Imag.*, 1907, p. 36. Gell gives a good copy of the text.

21. 'At the Scironian rocks on a marble.'

IIIII IOIONAIAΘHNAΩIOI

vii. 59.

Gell's copy is mentioned by Boeckh as one of the two documents for his text (*C.I.G.* 1101), the other being Clarke, *Travels*, Pt. 2, Sect. 2, p. 765 (4th ed., Pt. 6, p. 591), in which the inscription is given thus :—

OΔ

OIONAIAΘΩNΔΩIO

As Clarke's text and the other text now before us shew, Boeckh disregarded both his authorities in omitting the sixth and seventh letters of l. 2 (= AΓ of *ἀγαθῶν*?). *I.G.* reproduces the error.

22. In an unidentified church near Levadhia.

IOEMMO

vii. 3165.

The *Corpus* version is

KIOYMMO

which Dittenberger wishes to restore as *Λευκίου υἱός*.

23. Same provenance as No. 22.

BIOTA

Unpublished; the name occurs on two other Boeotian grave stelai, vii. 492 and 1694.

24. On a sepulchre at Kinetta (Megarid).

ΑΙΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ	*'Α<ι>πολλωνία*
ΔΙΟΝΥϹΙΟΥ	*Διονυσίου*
ΓΥΝΗ ΧΑΙΡΕ	*γυνὴ χαῖρε.*

25. Erimokastro (Thespiae).

ΝΕΜΕΣΙϹ ΧΑΙΡΕ	*Νεμέσιε χαῖρε.*

The name apparently is vocative of *Νεμέσιος*, which is the not uncommon Roman name Numesius graecised. *Νέμεσις* is also possible, though the inconsistency in the shapes of the *sigma* is a slight objection.

26. *Ibidem.*

(Dimensions 1·25 m. × ·66 × ·14.)

ΕΥΗΜΕΡΕ ΧΡΗϹΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ	*Εὐήμερε χρηστὲ χαῖρε.*
ΕΠΙΕΠΑΓΑΘΩ	*'Επὶ 'Επαγάθῳ.*
ϹΙΙΙΕ''''''ΓΑΘΩΛΥ	*'Ε[πὶ] 'Ε[πα]γάθῳ.*

This sepulchral inscription has remained unpublished, as far as I know, since Gell copied it. It is to be found on a large marble stele lying face upward outside the small church of Haghios Athanasios near the ruins of Thespiae. According to my copy and squeeze the third line is a careless copy of the second in later lettering.

27. Delphi : in church wall : very small lettering.

ΣΤΡΑ
ΒΟΥΛΩΝΟΣ
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑΙ.

This inscription is published by Wescher and Foucart, *Inscr. de Delphes*, p. 301, No. 470. The editors restore ll. 1 and 2 as

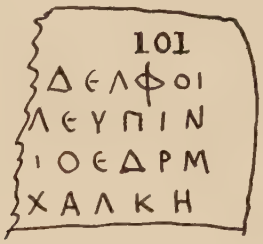
[*Πεισί* |*στρα*[*τος*] *Βούλωνος.*

I suggest instead

Στρά[*των*]/*Βούλωνος,*

a name now known as that of an Athenian who was victorious in an equestrian contest at Delphi, probably in 128 B.C., see *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. ii., p. 43, No. 42.

28. Delphi : near great terrace.



It is possible that this fragment appears in one of the Delphi publications, though I have failed to find it. If, as seems likely, the reading in the fourth line conceals the word *πρ]οεδρίαν*, this inscription is part of an ordinary honorary decree :—

[*Θε*]*οί*.| *Δελφοὶ* [*ἔδωκαν*, etc.

29. At Hyampolis in a ruined church.
ix. 1, 94.

ΑΝΙΤΑΛΙΚΑΤΑΣΗ
⋈ΤΟΝΤΙΔΙΠΟΥ - - ΤΟϕ
ΕϕΩΛΗΝΑΑΛΛΞΑΕ
ΕΙΑΝΠΟΛΙΜΕΙΖΟΝΑ

Two divergent copies, made by Lolling and Paris respectively, are given in the *Corpus*. Dittenberger says of them 'de titulo . . . restituendo in tanta apographorum discrepantia desperandum videtur.'

G.'s reading confirms Lolling's copy as against that of Paris, and makes Dittenberger's restoration of the name of the city Hyampolis in the fourth line almost certain.

30. Galaxidhi. 'On a rough old stone' : unpublished.

ΔΙΟΝΥCΟΥ

31. Crissa. The well-known *βουστροφηδόν* inscription :

C.I.G. 1. The latest publication is by Schwyzer, *Dial. Gr. Ex.*, 316.

Gell says the version given in his Diary was made by Gropius : it is faulty and not worth reproducing, but is interesting as being the copy which was communicated to Boeckh for *C.I.G.* by Gropius, whom he describes as *Graece parum doctus, sed delineandi peritus.*

R. P. AUSTIN.

ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS IN NOTE-BOOK (2).

These consist of eighteen texts, which with one exception are alike short and unimportant. Nine come from Eleusis, one from the Sacred Way, and the others apparently from Menidi and the nearer suburbs of Athens on the north. Only three (all from Eleusis) appear to be still unpublished. The numbers do not follow the order of Gell's copies.

A. Inscriptions already published :—

1–5. *I.G.* ii. 1405 (= iii. 856); 1857; 1948; 2747; 2995.

6–13. *I.G.* iii. 633 (cf. *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1894, p. 183, No. 27, for an improved copy); 886; 928; 1612; 1940; 2223; 2921; 3154.

14, 15. *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1883, pp. 138 ff., No. 13(35); 1894, p. 212, No. 27.

Gell's copies call for little comment. We may note that his version of ii. 1948 is inaccurate and incomplete; iii. 886 is copied so as to shew a vacant space between lines 3 and 4; iii. 1612 is in three lines, whereas the *Corpus*, following *C.I.G.* 608, gives it in one long line; iii. 1940 is inaccurate in more than one place. It is of interest to note that the inscribed base to Ailia Epilampsis (No. 14) was refound in 1883, alongside the N. wall of the temple at Eleusis; presumably Gell had re-buried it there, for otherwise it is incredible that so large a stone, with so clear-cut an inscription, should not have been seen and copied in the interval. His copy is in minuscules only, and is very accurate.

B. Inscriptions apparently unpublished :—

1. 'At a Metoiki in plain of Eleusis on a + (Church) belonging to ⊞ (monastery) of Panagia.' On a gable-topped stele with acroteria.

ΦΕΙΔΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	*Φειδόστρατος*
ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ	*Φιλοστράτου*
ΚΟΘΩΚΙΔΗΣ	*Κοθωκίδης.*

2. *Ibid.*(?). Apparently not on same stele.

ΜΥΝΝΙΝΗ	*Μυννίνη*
ΚΗΦΙΣΟΔΟΤΟΥ	*Κηφισοδότου*
⁻ΡΡΙΔΟΥ	*[Συ]βρίδου.*

The name *Μυννίνη* is not unknown in Attica, and the bearer may well have been connected with, possibly even the wife of, *Κηφεισόδοτος*

Πραξιτέλου Συβρίδης (*I.G.* ii. 2422, dating from the first century B.C., at earliest).

3. Eleusis. 'On a blue stone near the pyrgo.' Broken on r. only.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣ//	*Ὁ δῆμος*
ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΙΝΜΟΣ//	*ἱερόφαντιν Μοσ[χ - -]*
ΑΜΙΟΥΑΦΙΔΝΑΙΟΥΟΥ//	*αμίου Ἀφιδναίου θυ[γατέρα εὐ-]*
ΣΕΒΗΑΣΕ'///////	*σεβήας ἕν[εκεν].*

This belongs to the known type of dedications in honour of the *ἱερόφαντις* at Eleusis; cf. *I.G.* iii. 886, 901, and (in metrical form) 900 and 914. The first name was perhaps *Μοσ[χίνη]* as in *I.G.* iii. 2546, or *Μόσχιον* as in iii. 2757. For the orthography *[εὐ]σέβηα*, which is found also in iii. 886, cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Grammatik der att. Inschriften*, 47, where a large collection of similar spellings is given.

A. M. W.

EXCAVATIONS AT HALIARTOS, 1926.[1]

A PERMIT was granted for the School to carry out a trial excavation at Haliartos in Boeotia with the object of establishing the plan of the ancient walls of the city and testing the future possibilities of the site.

Digging was begun on March 30th on the west wall of the Acropolis—Mr. Woodward being present to direct operations for the first two days. Five men were employed at first, but after the opening week the number was raised to six.

For about a fortnight the workmen were employed in determining the lines of the walls of the Acropolis. It was found impossible in the limited time available for the excavation to include the outer town walls in the investigation. For the second fortnight the men were chiefly engaged in excavating a sanctuary and adjacent buildings which were discovered within the Acropolis. Work was continued until April 28th.

(a) *The Acropolis and its Walls.*—The Acropolis is roughly quadrangular in shape with sides between two and three hundred metres in length and lying with its four angles approximately north, south, east and west. The north and east sides are bounded by high cliffs overlooking the lake. The south and west sides are bounded by a natural slope, on the top of which were built the fortifications. There is a small level area on the southern height, from which the Acropolis slopes steeply down to the northern cliffs.

Five distinct styles of building are represented in the fortifications

[1] In presenting my report I have to make my cordial acknowledgments to the staff of the Lake Copais Company, and in particular to the General Manager of the Company, Mr. G. L. Bailey, for the privilege of hospitality at the 'Bachelors' House' while the excavation was proceeding, for providing me with tools and other requirements for the work, for help in obtaining workmen, and for friendly interest and support throughout.

I must also record my gratitude to Mr. Pappadakis, the Greek Ephor, for his never-failing kindness and courtesy both on this occasion and the many others when I have been brought into contact with him in the course of my work.

of the Acropolis—Mycenaean, early squared, polygonal, late squared and post-Greek. In only two styles, apparently, was a complete system of fortifications built, the first and last. The intermediate styles appear in patches, sometimes replacing, sometimes built on the top of, an earlier structure.

From the continuity in the maintenance of the defences it would appear that the city was occupied without serious break at least from the time when it sent warriors to Troy[1] down to its sack by Lucretius in 171 B.C. The pottery found in the excavation contains representative sherds from every significant period between these two limits.

1. *The Mycenaean Walls.*—The most considerable remains are on the south side and southern half of the west side, with the S-bend which forms the south-west angle of the Acropolis: they are built of large roughly-faced blocks of blue limestone with small stones filling up the interstices: no excavation was made with a view to obtaining evidence from pottery; a painted Mycenaean sherd which I picked out of the fabric of the wall was thought by Mr. Forsdyke to date from about 1400 B.C.

The average height of the surviving wall is about a metre above the present surface; it is probable that the classical wall was built on top of the Mycenaean wall for a considerable portion of the west side: in fact at one point in it squared blocks from the classical period still survive on top of the Mycenaean structure.

In the south-west angle of the Acropolis a Mycenaean entrance was uncovered. It probably consisted originally of two rows of large flat paving-blocks running inward, with heavy uprights on each side. The existing parts are the two outermost paving-blocks of the southern row and an inner block of the northern row, and the support for one of the uprights. One of the paving-blocks has a shallow longitudinal groove which may be a wheel-rut. The present level of the entrance is considerably higher than the level of the ground immediately outside it: there is an indication that a ramp led up to it from below, namely, a line of roughly shaped stones coming inward from the south. No trace of the lintel posts was found: a few metres south of the entrance there lies an enormous block which had three round holes pierced in it as though for the reception of bolts: this stone may have some relation with the entrance.

[1] *Iliad*, ii. 503.

2. *The Early Hellenic Wall.*—The outer face of a good piece of wall of squared blocks of blue limestone exists on the west side of the Acropolis. From six to eight courses stand above the ground: the outside faces of the blocks are left rough, the lines of the courses are not strictly horizontal, the joints between adjacent blocks are not always vertical and there is no indication of drafted edges on the blocks.

The style may be compared to that of the city walls of Orchomenos which are similarly constructed. They are conjectured to belong to the seventh century B.C.

3. *The Polygonal Wall.*—The characteristics of the style are carefully faced and well-jointed heavy polygonal blocks, also of blue limestone, set upright on one or more foundation courses of large, flat, squared stones laid horizontally. The only remains seem to be at the south-east angle of the Acropolis and a long piece which ran along the south side at the foot of the slope, and possibly at one point on the edge of the cliff on the north side. Near the south-east angle there are remains of two towers.

The method of construction, namely polygonal courses set upright on flat foundation courses, is identical with the style found in the περίβολος of the sanctuary and the adjacent rectangular building, though naturally on a far more massive scale. It is tempting, therefore, to consider this style of wall-building as roughly contemporary with the sanctuary and to place it in the sixth or early fifth century.

4. *Late Hellenic (?) Wall of squared blocks.*—This is built of soft reddish or yellowish white limestone, not true *poros*, though often so called—and so here for convenience. In the main wall lines of the Acropolis none of this style of building was found above the surface: it was first discovered in three heavy foundation courses which were excavated just above the gateway. Later, when the gateway (described below, p. 84) was discovered, the same style was found there; but the most considerable specimen of the style was uncovered below the northern bend of the south-west angle—a tower with massive walls whose foundations lie eight courses below the present surface. It was erected on an earth slope, and its side walls were stepped against the slope at their inner ends and were linked into the main wall only in their higher courses. Portions of blocks belonging to a main wall of the same material were uncovered on the top of the slope. This stone is very soft and quite

unsuited for a fortification wall. The effect of weathering on it is plainly shewn from the fact that none survives above ground.

In digging outside the front wall of the tower a deposit of black glaze ware was found, including types of vases which are known to occur in the fourth century B.C. Further indications of the period of this style of wall are the drafted edges of some of the *poros* blocks, their careful cut and alignment. Similar features are found in the Ascra tower and the watch-tower in the Megarid described by Tillyard, *B.S.A.* xii. 101, and may be accepted as characteristic of fourth-century work.

Fig. 1.—The Gateway from Outside.

The Gateway. (Figs. 1, 2.) In the west wall, about 100 metres from the north-west angle, a gateway was uncovered; the wall has a re-entrant 2 metres deep on the north side and 2·65 m. deep on the south. The distance between the two, *i.e.* the width of the outer entrance, is 3·75 m. The inner entrance is 2·10 m. wide: it was bounded on each side by a large block of white limestone surmounted by courses of single *poros* blocks; two of these blocks survive on the south: on the north fragments of the lowest course were found in a decayed condition.

Immediately without the inner entrance there were originally three threshold blocks, fitted and placed side by side but apparently not clamped or joined by any mechanical contrivance. Two of these remain *in situ*, but the third, that on the south side, has entirely disappeared. The

two that survive are of a very white and rather brittle limestone; the northern block is trapezoidal in shape but with very worn corners; a deep and wide wheel-rut (well seen in Fig. 1) runs right through it, worn more deeply at its inner end, indicating that the block was higher than the street level inside, and splayed out more on the south side at its outer extremity, indicating that the road approached the gateway bending in from the south: the whole of this block lies just outside the inner entrance. The other block is of irregular shape, being wider inside and

FIG. 2.—THE GATEWAY FROM INSIDE.

tapering slightly outward: a portion of it is actually within the entrance, and this part is cut away to a lower level to form a ridge against which the gates were shut. This inner portion contains a rectangular hole ·11 m. deep, ·105 m. wide, ·15 m. long, into which the vertical gate bolt was thrust down when the gates were shut (Fig. 2). No trace was found of the lintel posts or the fittings of the gate pivots.

Before excavation the entrance of the gateway was entirely covered up at the surface by a portion of the late wall (*i.e.* No. 5) which ran across it. Below this there were fallen *poros* blocks, and in the actual entry, lying partly across the threshold blocks, were two roughly squared lime-

stone blocks of unequal length which had been thrust in prior to the building of the late wall.

5. *The Late Wall* (post-171 B.C.).—A long and well-preserved stretch of this wall runs from east to west across the whole width of the southern height of the Acropolis at some distance inside the older fortifications; it may be traced down the west side continuously as far as the gateway, after which it appears in patches down to the north-west angle: small portions of it survive on the cliff overlooking the lake both on the north and east sides. It would thus appear to have made a complete or almost complete circuit of the Acropolis. It is constructed chiefly of small stones with quantities of mortar filling, and has a uniform thickness of about two metres. On the south and west sides there are remains of several towers. Excavation in the neighbourhood of this wall yielded no evidence on which to date it. The materials and method of its construction as well as its slightness as a defence suggest that it was built when Haliartos was no longer an independent community, that is to say, after its sack by Lucretius in 171 B.C.—perhaps even much later.

(b) *The Sanctuary* (see Plan, Fig. 3).—On April 9th, a trial trench was begun outside a line of blocks just appearing at the surface near the highest point of the Acropolis: the spot forms a small eminence from which the land begins its downward slope to the north. The soil in the neighbourhood of these blocks proved to be very productive. The first trial revealed much black glaze pottery, one red-figure sherd, loom weights, and a mutule-and-gutta fragment in *poros* with traces of red paint. From this last find it was conjectured that the site was that of a temple, and preparations were made to investigate it more carefully.

It was found that the blocks first excavated belonged to a περίβολος constructed in the form of a flattened semicircle, its greatest length being about 36 metres. It was built of well-fitted polygonal masonry set on a foundation course of horizontal blocks.

Inside the west end of the περίβολος were discovered the remains of the sanctuary itself (Fig. 4)—a rectangular foundation consisting of four courses of heavy limestone blocks. The alignment of the courses is only approximately horizontal, and the blocks are of irregular size and are not carefully squared: they are carefully faced in the top course but left rough in the lower courses. The interior of the structure

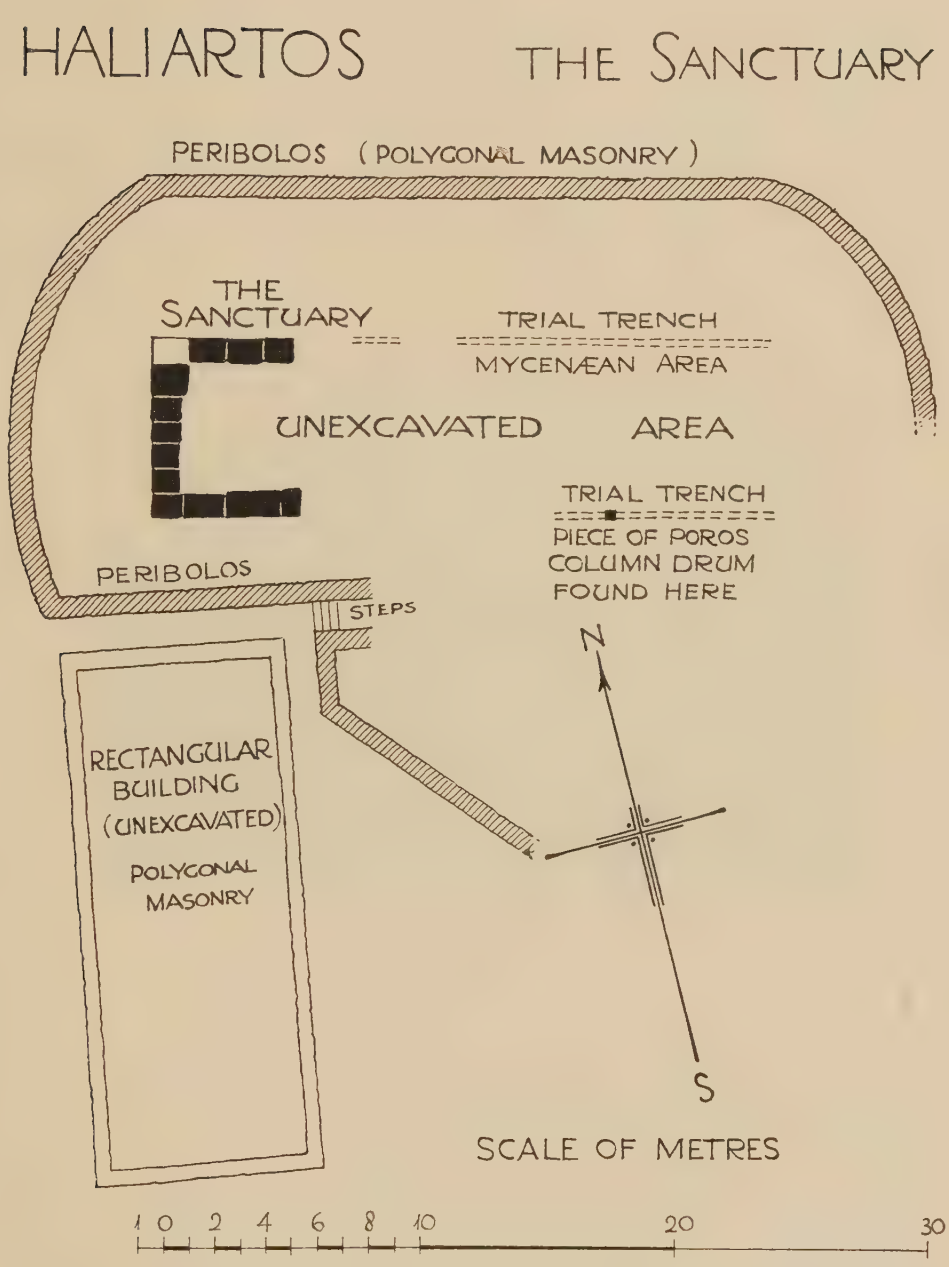


FIG. 3.—PLAN OF THE SANCTUARY.

was found to be full of limestone chips produced in the dressing of the blocks.

The sanctuary lies nearly east and west. Its west end, which is 7·1 m. in width, has been excavated as far as the bottom of the second course. The east end remains unexcavated, but the east wall would seem to have been destroyed. Both the side walls come to an end at about six metres from the west end, and have the appearance of being broken up at this point.

Fig. 4.—Sanctuary and Peribolos from the West.

A—A, West Wall of Peribolos.
B—B, West Wall of Sanctuary.
C—C, Portion of Peribolos on South.

Two parallel trial trenches running east and west were dug in the eastern area of the περίβολος with the hope of finding a continuation of the sanctuary foundation. Not only was no trace of any foundation discovered, but the north trench produced a quantity of Mycenaean pottery, and soil which appeared to be an older deposit than that around the temple. In the south trench the only significant find was a small portion of a Doric column drum of *poros* which was uncovered at a distance of 18 m. from the west end of the sanctuary. It had remains of a coating

of stucco on the outside. Its diameter was calculated to have been about ·70 m.

The eastern extremity of the περίβολος is destroyed, but on the west side the end of the curved portion forms a sharp angle and runs inward approximately parallel to the south side of the temple for a distance of about 11 m. Here is a flight of four steps (Fig. 5), descending westward from the sanctuary level. From the steps the περίβολος runs outward again about 3 m. and then makes an obtuse angle towards the south-east. At a further distance of 10 m. from this angle it is destroyed.

FIG. 5.—STEPS LEADING UP TO INTERIOR OF PERIBOLOS ON SOUTH.

The object of this re-entrant in the περίβολος is apparently to leave room for the end of a long rectangular building which occupies the area south of the sanctuary. Its north wall, 9 m. in length, is roughly parallel to the south side of the temple. Its west wall, 21 metres in length, approaches the end of the western curved portion of the περίβολος. It is built in the same polygonal style as the περίβολος, and its walls survive to an average height of nearly a metre above the foundation course. Between it and the περίβολος there was a narrow paved passage leading to the flight of steps : this is now nearly filled up by a late wall of *poros*.

The interior of the north-east corner of this rectangular building was excavated and a good inside face in the same style of masonry was found; the thickness of the wall is about ·6 m. *Poros* mutule-and-gutta fragments from the temple façade were found inside the corner a little way below the surface, indicating that the building is, as was supposed, contemporary with the sanctuary. A trench carried along outside the whole length of its west wall produced a remarkable number of fragments of large vessels of thick, coarse, unpainted ware. This suggests that the building was used as a store chamber in connection with the sanctuary, but until it is excavated nothing definite can be known.

Date of the Sanctuary.—In the present half-excavated state of the sanctuary it is evidently impossible to give precise dates for its construction and the other events in its history. The fact that its columns and façade were of stucco-covered *poros* does not prove an early date, for where marble was not easily obtainable (as at Haliartos), *poros* might be used until late in the fifth century. Some pieces of terracotta revetment were found, but were too badly damaged to be of use as evidence.

The evidence from the pottery has not yet been thoroughly collected, but of sherds already examined the earliest date from the sixth century. As an example may be cited a remarkable sherd from a vase with hatching and palmette decoration in black on a liberal white slip, which was found inside the περίβολος near the steps. It is conjectured to be an Ionic importation of the first half of the sixth century.

In clearing the surface of the sanctuary foundations several fragments of small *skyphoi* of so-called proto-Corinthian type were found. These are very common in Boeotian graves of the sixth century.

There is evidence, derived partly from pottery and partly from coins, for the existence of the sanctuary at least as late as the fourth century. Near the περίβολος were found some sherds of black glaze ware with stamped decoration similar to that illustrated in Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona*, Plate XIII., No. 59, 16, which is dated by the author in the first half of the fourth century. Fourth-century Boeotian, Locrian, and Chalcidian bronze coins were found in the neighbourhood of the περίβολος and in the trench along the outside of the rectangular building.

Above the *poros* wall which blocks the passage leading to the steps was found an Attic bronze coin of the Hadrianic and Antonine period. This find may date the intrusive structure.

Miscellaneous discoveries include an inscription fragment, part of a small architrave-block of limestone, a very fine terracotta female head, bronze rings, many fragments of bronze vessels, and a well-made stone chisel of the prehistoric period.

(c) *Inscriptions from Ruined Buildings at Haliartos.*—Four unpublished tomb inscriptions had already been seen by Mr. Woodward in a ruined building, probably a church, in a field to the east of the Copais Compound. In a short inspection of two similar buildings seven other inscriptions, mostly sepulchral, were found. These will be published later. A careful investigation would probably produce yet more.

R. P. AUSTIN.

FINLAY'S 'HISTORY OF THE INSURRECTION IN CRETE'

THE following article, sent by Finlay to *The Times* on October 3, 1867, and corrected in proof and returned by him on September 5, 1868, was never published, but is preserved, like the similarly unpublished article on the same subject for *Blackwood's Magazine*, in both the corrected proof and a copy of the original manuscript in the Finlay Library.[1] The longest of all his newspaper articles, it contains his view of the 'great' Cretan insurrection of 1866–69; and, together with his subsequent articles on the same subject published in *The Times* of December 18 and 25, 1868, January 8, 16 and 22, and February 5, 1869, may be regarded as a supplementary chapter of his *History*. As a contribution to the history of this insurrection, it may be compared with Ballot's *Histoire de l'Insurrection Crétoise*, Hilary Skinner's *Roughing it in Crete in 1867*, and *The Cretan Insurrection of 1866–7–8* by Stillman, then U.S. Consul in Crete, and subsequently correspondent of *The Times* in Athens and Rome—all three eye-witnesses—and with such later works as Wagner's *Der kretische Aufstand*, 1866–67, and Ἡ διπλωματικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Κρητικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως τοῦ 1866, by Papantonakes, published in 1926. Finlay paid two short visits to the island during the insurrection, one described in *The Times* of June 1, 1867, the other in an unpublished letter to that journal, dated June 11, 1868. I have added a few explanatory footnotes.

WILLIAM MILLER.

THE HISTORY OF THE INSURRECTION IN CRETE.[2]

THE insurrection in Crete has proved a much more serious business than either the Ottoman Government foresaw when it neglected the reclamations of the Christians, or the Greek Government contemplated when it engaged in an underhand attempt to dismember the Ottoman Empire. At its commencement the Sultan's Ministers believed that it was a mere provincial intrigue of a few discontented Greeks, while the

[1] *B.S.A.* xxvi. 50–51.

[2] (*a*) 'Correspondence respecting the disturbances in Crete, 1866–67.' Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1867.

(*b*) Newspapers published at Athens, Syra, and Constantinople in 1866 and 1867.

Ministers of King George hoped to give it the appearance of a national movement, and persuade the Western Cabinets that the only means of preventing a general rebellion of the ten millions of orthodox Christians in European Turkey would be to buy off the Greeks by annexing Crete, and perhaps Thessaly and Epirus, to the Hellenic kingdom. Neither party suspected that the complications arising out of this insular insurrection would open questions of policy larger even than the Eastern question. The Sublime Porte, whose neglect has cost it more than £4,000,000 sterling, must bitterly regret not putting forth its whole strength when the first shot was fired; and the Greek nation, which in one way or other has wasted a million sterling in an unprofitable attack on a peaceful neighbour, must now see that it has unnecessarily compromised its own future progress, and perilled the political fortunes of the Hellenic kingdom and the Greek race.

The duration of the war and the manner in which hostilities have been carried on have revealed many secrets concerning the machinery that manufactures agitation in Turkey, and furnished the public with an amount of knowledge concerning the anomalies of the Eastern question that is not the less certain because it is derived from circumstantial evidence. Very early in the contest it was evident that no reliance could be placed on the information circulated by the partisans either of the Turks or the Greeks. Both parties secured the services of men who spoke and wrote half a dozen languages with ease; but who could not speak or write the truth in any language.

We were informed by the Earl of Derby, in the debate on Cretan affairs in the month of August,[1] that Government would, in all probability, be prepared to produce a voluminous blue-book on the affairs of the East at the opening of Parliament next Session.[2] The correspondence will certainly not be restricted to the Cretan insurrection, but will extend to other branches of the Eastern question. We know already, from various quarters, that it has been carried on with other Cabinets as well as with the Ottoman and Hellenic Governments. Russia and France have pronounced their opinions in memoirs and memorandums. Austria and Italy have furnished their contributions in despatches and

[1] August 15, 1867.

[2] 'Further Correspondence respecting the disturbances in Crete: 1867' (presented to Parliament December 2, 1867); and: Correspondence respecting the disturbances in Crete' (1868), in continuation thereof.

notes. The importance the subject has acquired, and the certainty that some time must elapse before it can cease to be a source of misrepresentation, make the moment opportune for endeavouring to extract the truth from the records of the insurrection which have been already laid before the public.

The Greeks, sharing the persuasion that was very general in the spring of 1866, believed that two of their protecting Powers would be so much occupied by the events of a long war in Germany that they would be compelled to leave Eastern affairs to the care of the third. Their sympathies with Russian policy were warmed, they revivified their 'great idea,' and hoped to commence a series of conquests from Turkey which would lay the foundations of a new Byzantine Empire. It was said at the time, perhaps as an excuse for Hellenic intrigues, that French schemers in Egypt were concocting projects for aggrandising the Pasha by making him master of Crete. The minds of the Cretans were disturbed by native schemers, who desired to gain power under the cover of autonomy, and Greek agents, who hoped to make the union of Crete with the Hellenic Kingdom a step towards the realisation of the 'great idea.'

The first signs of a coming insurrection were observed by the Greek Mussulmans early in the year. In spring they were public. The Christian population of the Western provinces, in the exercise of a privilege which the Sultan's Government permits with a degree of liberty not conceded by many Christian sovereigns, assembled to deliberate on their grievances and to mature their schemes of revolt. Before the middle of May, 1866, about 4,000 men encamped without arms at a village [1] within a few miles of Canea, the residence of the Governor-General of Crete. A petition to the Sultan was drawn up, and this document, signed by delegates from every province, dated the 26th of May, was delivered to Ismail Pasha, who forwarded it to the Sublime Porte. Copies were also presented by a deputation from the Assembly to the Consuls of the Christian Powers at Canea. This petition, which is printed in the blue-book, states that the weight of taxation was too heavy to be borne; that the system of farming the taxes was vexatious; that the farmers pillaged the people, ruined themselves and their sureties, and defrauded the Ottoman Government; that the canton of Sphakia

[1] Perivolia.

was in no need of reform, for it was governed by its own laws, and its separate administration had always been respected by the Porte. The petitioners also complained of the want of roads, bridges, schools, and hospitals; they acknowledged that they possessed their own mayors, municipal councils, and communal administrative commissions, but they considered the last regulations relating to their election to be defective, without, however, specifying what modification they desired. They mentioned the evil of debts; they said that oil merchants and usurers devoured their substance, and they prayed the Sultan to extend his paternal solicitude to their condition. They complained of the deplorable situation of the courts of justice, and asked for their speedy reform. Commercial restrictions were also considered as furnishing ground of complaint, and it was even asserted that the religious toleration proclaimed by the Hatt-i-Humayoun existed only nominally in Crete. The conclusion of the petition was that the Christians prayed the Sultan to examine their grievances by impartial commissioners.

The nature and the tone of these demands were very distinct preludes to a Cretan insurrection. Ismail Pasha, the Governor-General, was ordered by the Ottoman Government to command the self-constituted Assembly to disperse, and if it refused, to seize the leaders and disperse their followers by force of arms. Information had already reached Constantinople that the object of the petitioners was 'to change the political condition of the island.' Some wished to establish a quasi-independent principality, others were desirous of withdrawing Crete from the sovereignty of the Sultan.

On the 26th of May the delegates of the Christian population petitioned the Sultan for a redress of grievances, and gave him assurances of their devotion as faithful subjects. On the following day these same delegates signed petitions to Queen Victoria, the Emperor Napoleon III, and the Emperor Alexander II, which they forwarded to the sub-director of the National Bank of Greece [1] for transmission. These petitions, signed on Monday, proved that the language of the petition to the Sultan signed on Sunday was false. Queen Victoria, who was supposed by the Greeks to be fully sensible of the power of agitation for union with Greece, was entreated to aid in wresting Crete from the Sultan, and invited to assist in dismembering the Ottoman Empire. An attempt

[1] Renieres, Governor of the Bank 1869–90.

was made to present this petition for annexing Crete to Greece through Lord Lyons, the Ambassador at Constantinople, and when that failed, through a gentleman who had been Consul-General of Greece in London.[1] This connexion between men occupying high positions in the Hellenic kingdom with those who were petitioning the Sultan and preparing for rebellion did not escape the knowledge of Greeks in equally high positions in Turkey. The tone assumed by the Greek press also warned the Ottoman Government that the pacification of the Cretan Christians by any concession short of independence was impossible. Secret intrigues and matured arrangements had already rendered war inevitable.

Hostilities commenced towards the end of July, 1866, by the Committee of the Cretan Representative Assembly seizing an Albanian constable, and putting him in prison by letting him down into a dried-up well. The agents of the insurgents already spread reports that the Mussulmans were preparing for a general massacre of the Christians.

The persuasion that the Hellenic Government was exciting the Cretans to revolt was general. In the beginning of August, His Hellenic Majesty considered it necessary to declare to Mr. Erskine, the British Minister, that General Kalergy, the King's Master of the Horse,[2] had not accepted the office of Regent of Crete, which had been offered to him by the insurgents. His Majesty was, however, able to inform the British Minister that 4,000,000 of drachmas had been subscribed, and 1,000 muskets already collected to support the insurrection by Greek patriots established abroad. It appears that those who employed the sub-director of the National Bank and the late Consul-General in London believed that the solicitations of the King of Greece would obtain some act of intervention on the part of the three protecting Powers, and that any act of intervention would lead necessarily to the annexation of Crete to the Hellenic kingdom. A memorandum of the Greek Government, dated the 14th of August, addressed to the three protecting Powers, without distinctly demanding annexation, invited the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Russia to gratify the legitimate sympathies of the scattered members of the Greek race.

In Crete members of Assembly paraded up and down the mountain

[1] Ionides.

[2] Member of a famous Cretan family, Demetrios Kallerges was a leader in the September revolution of 1843 at Athens, Minister of War in 1854, and Minister in Paris 1859–66.

districts, preceded by the flags of England, France, and Russia, calling the population to arms. And on the 12th of August a telegraphic message was despatched to Lord Stanley from Canea by one of the agitators,[1] who was living in security under Turkish protection, informing the British Government that more than 25,000 armed Christians had left their homes and occupied the strongest positions in the mountains; that there was not the slightest hope of reconciliation with the Ottoman Government, and that the Cretans were determined to obtain union with Greece. The Greek newspapers were filled with demands for annexation, and the whole Greek race assumed that the Western Powers would be either cajoled or intimidated into conceding all that was asked by a people sure of efficient support from Russia. The policy of the Greek Government was in direct opposition to the policy of the French and English Governments, by whom the Cretan insurrection was considered ill-timed and likely to prove equally injurious to Greece and Turkey. France and England had never been more anxious to maintain peace in the East, and the Greeks, seeing that anxiety, were never more eager to commence a revolution in European Turkey. Dates require to be carefully compared, for they often furnish incontrovertible evidence of secret understandings which have been boldly denied.

The condition of Crete at this time is described by many eyewitnesses. The whole island was in a state of agitation. Armed bands of Christians, which the foreign Consuls, in their reports, never estimated at less than 20,000 men, were collected at the foot of the Sphakian Mountains; the Greek Mahomedans were abandoning their farms and crowding into the fortresses; the Christians near the fortresses were fleeing to the mountains or quitting the island. The Ottoman Government, now perfectly aware of the plans of the insurgents for union with Greece, and sensible of the danger which shedding the blood of the Sultan's Christian subjects might create, acted with timidity as well as forbearance. At the end of August Prince Gortschakoff said to Sir Andrew Buchanan 'that the Porte has often recourse to force when it is impolitic, and exhibits weakness where strong measures are indispensably required.' Facts have made a different application of his observation from that which he contemplated.

Hostilities commenced on the 20th of August, 1866, and the first

[1] Joannides.

man slain was a native Mussulman, Hussein Aga, who was waylaid and murdered by his Christian countrymen. A skirmish took place a few days after between the Mussulmans and Christians in the province of Selinos, which was stopped by the arrival of a body of Ottoman regular troops, who separated the combatants when they had lost about thirty killed and wounded, but before either party had obtained a decided advantage.

On the 2nd of September Cretan affairs assumed a new aspect. The Cretan Assembly abolished the Sultan's authority in Crete, and decreed the union of the island with the Hellenic kingdom. From that day there was an end of all civil government. Among the Christians every village chief who could assemble a dozen armed followers was more powerful than the governing committee of the general representative body, for the real political direction of the insurrection was vested in the Cretan Central Committee at Athens. On the day union was decreed two Turkish officials travelling from Rettimo to Canea were shot within six miles of the capital. Neither the Ottoman nor Egyptian troops, nor the Greek Mussulmans of the island, up to this date had shed Christian blood. But on the 9th of September, after the news was published in Canea that the Christians had thrown off their allegiance to the Sultan, a band of Greek Mussulmans sallied out of Canea, sacked the village of Galata, which was abandoned by the Christian inhabitants, and murdered an old man who was the only person on whom they could lay hands. Murder and rapine began then to be of daily occurrence over the whole island, the Mussulmans and Christians retaliating their mutual cruelties. Churches and mosques were both desecrated, and much wanton destruction of property took place, each party heaping every insult on the places of worship and religious emblems of the other.

The English and French Ambassadors at Constantinople, Lord Lyons and M. de Moustier, pressed the Porte to act with the greatest forbearance towards the Christians, and to redress all their real grievances; and they obtained from the Sultan's Ministers the promise to exhaust every means of conciliation before resorting to coercion. The Russian Government, which retains its traditional policy of regarding with suspicion every act of the Sultan affecting the orthodox population of Turkey, was desirous of establishing a right of interference. On the

5th of September Lord Stanley was informed by Baron Brunnow that the Emperor invited the co-operation of the Cabinets of England and France in order to represent in a friendly spirit to the Porte the necessity of giving reasonable satisfaction to the Cretan population. A right of interference in the affairs of Crete might be based on the exceptional position created by the stipulations of the protocol of the 20th of February, 1830, fixing the limits of the Greek kingdom. The Russian Government regarded the agitation in Crete as having proceeded from local grievances, and advocated direct interference because 'war as carried on by the Turks would be marked by acts of fanatical brutality.' Lord Stanley summed up the position of the three protecting Powers at this period very distinctly in a few words. He rejected intervention because intervention could only mean hostility to the Ottoman Government, and hostility to the Ottoman Government could only mean the union of Crete with the Hellenic kingdom, and the immediate opening up of the whole Eastern question. Early in October the Russian Ambassador recognised the fact that the insurrection was not caused solely by local grievances, but that it was really a war for the annexation of Crete to Greece.

A just idea of the state of the Cretan population at the breaking out of the insurrection may be obtained by examining impartial witnesses who deposed as to the condition of the island shortly before the outbreak, not by going back to record what happened more than thirty years ago. The excellent work of Pashley, who travelled after the termination of the Greek revolutionary war, records faithfully the evils of the old system when Janissaries and Galliongees murdered Christians and intimidated Pashas, and the oppressions of the administration of Mehemet Ali of Egypt, who considered government merely as a fiscal operation. The recent period, immediately preceding the present insurrection, is described by an equally able and impartial observer. Captain Spratt, R.N., who made several journeys in the island both before and after the Crimean war, and under whose direction the Admiralty survey was completed, published two volumes of *Travels and Researches in Crete* in 1865. From this valuable work we extract the following passages:

'Vely Pasha, the Governor-General, a son of Mustapha Pasha' (who was Governor-General in the time of Pashley and has been recently again Governor-General and Imperial Commissioner), 'was induced by

his enlightened views to suggest the establishment of a public school for the instruction of Mussulman and Christian youths in general, and the building intended for it was completed nearly to the roof when local opposition excited the revolutionary demonstration of 1858, which supplanted growing confidence by mistrust and hatred' (and caused the recall of Vely Pasha).

'It was begun under the auspices of some foreign agents not interested in Turkish regeneration, mainly for the purpose of ridding the island of an enlightened Governor. This misguided prejudice brought to a standstill several improvements, such as the general introduction of mixed education, the construction of roads, and the extension of the sanitary treatment of the sick. The demonstration against Vely Pasha, under Sphakian guidance and influence, caused the Mussulmans to fly from their villages into the fortified towns when their crops were ripening. In Candia many of the lowland Christian peasantry fled to the towns with the Mussulmans. The mountain inhabitants and their chiefs, having nothing to lose, and being comparatively secure from molestation within their fastnesses, influence the lowlanders by the terror of their lawless deeds. The name of Sphakiot is in consequence a by-word among the lowland Cretans for unscrupulous intrigue, theft, and cruelty. Athletic and active, he stalks about the island as an itinerant merchant or political disturber.' (Vol. I. pp. 48–54.)

Captain Spratt estimates the population of the island, from the best and most reliable information he could obtain during his survey, at 210,000, of whom one-third are Mussulmans, and he points out the source of the error of Athenian authorities, who make the number 300,000.

After passing the decree of the 2nd of September, 1866, abolishing the authority of the Ottoman Government, the Christians did not wait to be attacked. They occupied the Mussulman villages, and by their numbers, and from having the advantage of taking the initiative, they were enabled to sweep the open country and drive all who opposed them into the fortresses. For some time military operations were conducted by both parties without any settled plan, and the war was remarkable for nothing but an extraordinary waste of ammunition, and, indeed, of all the means which the belligerents had at their disposal. Many trifling skirmishes took place, attended with very little loss to either party, yet they were described as bloody and well-contested battles. Both the insurgents and the Ottoman troops claimed victories which had no military importance, but which were so often repeated that the European press was at last deceived into the belief that a bloody war

was really going on in Crete. For six months the Ottoman Pashas reported to Constantinople by every post that they had suppressed the insurrection; and the Cretan chiefs announced to the committee and to the newspapers at Athens by the Austrian steamer weekly that they had annihilated an Ottoman army and slain or captured a Pasha.

Hostilities really commenced with an important advantage gained by the insurgents over a body of Egyptian regular troops. It was magnified by the cowardice of the commanding Pasha and by the magniloquence of the Greek press into a great victory on one side and an alarming disaster on the other. The Egyptians were divided into two parties; one was stationed at Kalyvais, on the bay of Suda, and the other on a hill near the springs called Vryssais, distant a short march from the sea coast. The insurgents surrounded the corps at Vryssais in overwhelming numbers and cut it off from the springs. The troops at Kalyvais were repulsed in attempting to re-establish their communications and convey provisions to those at Vryssais, and the Pasha sent alarming accounts of his position to Alexandria. In the meantime the corps at Vryssais was suffering severely from sickness, and was obliged to fight for water, while it remained without provisions. On the 11th of September a capitulation was concluded, by which the Egyptians were allowed to retire to Kalyvais with their arms. All the means of transport they could command were employed to transport their sick and their military chest, and it was stipulated that their tents should remain standing with their baggage under the guard of a body of Christians. Ten hostages were given on each side. The Egyptians engaged not to commit any disorder on their march, and the Christians promised to allow them to send for their tents and baggage next day. The result of this first capitulation during the Cretan insurrection is best recounted in extracts from Athenian newspapers. Its effect on the moral feelings of the belligerents on both sides during the war could not be favourable to humanity. *La Grèce* of the 27th of September, 1866, in its report of the affair, says :—

'When our men saw the Egyptians marching away they were furious at losing their booty. Their rage became uncontrollable when letters arrived announcing the massacres at Heracleion, St. Myron, St. George, Gorgolaïni, Apano, and Kato Asitais, and of 250 women and children in the cavern at Sarkos. These letters arrived an hour after the departure of the Egyptians.'

There is distinct proof that the greater part—perhaps the whole—of these massacres were inventions; but the necessity for the arrival of the letters announcing them is explained by an article in the *Ethnophylax* of the 21st of September from an authentic source of information. It says: 'The Christians, hearing the news of the cruelties committed by the Mussulmans, lost their reason, plundered the things remaining in the camp, and murdered the hostages.' The same authority mentions that the loss of the Christians in all the skirmishing by which they obtained 'the great victory of Vryssais' amounted to four killed and fifteen wounded. The Egyptians at Kalyvais soon received reinforcements, and the command of the troops was committed to abler and firmer hands.

Another extract from an Athenian newspaper of the 3rd of October may be cited to convey an idea of the extent to which the public in Greece was deluded by accounts of imaginary successes, and of the reports by which a conviction was created that the annexation of Crete to the Hellenic kingdom was certain. It is given in the blue-book, at p. 62:—

> 'It is superfluous to mention the engagements which took place at Suda, at Tzikalaria, and at Rettimo, in which the Cretans were victorious, as it is sufficient to state that about 4,000 Turks were killed, and that Mustapha, in despair, has taken shelter under the guns of Canea. The Cretans retain the position of Suda. Six or seven thousand is the number of Cretans who took part in these engagements.'

It is certainly superfluous to comment on these fables. Those who prepared and have guided the insurrection have all along trusted for its success more to diplomacy and myths than to fighting.

Mustapha Pasha, a veteran Governor-General of Crete, was selected by the Sultan as the man in his Empire most agreeable to the Christians, and most likely to pacify the troubles in the island without bloodshed. As Imperial Commissioner he was invested with large discretionary powers to examine and relieve the grievances of which the Christians complained. Mustapha Pasha had passed thirty years of his life in Crete, which he ruled for many years as Governor-General when it formed part of the dominions of Mehemet Ali, the great Egyptian Pasha. Pashley gives an interesting account of his visit to Mustapha at Candia in 1834:—

'While coffee and pipes were handed round, we conversed on various topics; the Pasha at first spoke Turkish, but something was said in Greek, from which he found out, to his surprise and pleasure, that I was acquainted with that language, and immediately began to converse with me in it. Thus all my intercourse with Mustapha Pasha was released from the bonds which usually fetter the conversation of European travellers with men of rank in Turkey. I was astonished to discover that, although he reads Turkish and Arabic, he has not thought it worth while to learn the written Greek character, and thus, while he speaks the language almost with the fluency of a native, he cannot read even the superscription of a letter.' (Vol. I. p. 173.)

On a subsequent visit he says:—

'I found the Pasha engaged this morning in the study of the military art with a European instructor. Mustapha Pasha has had ample experience in the warfare of irregular troops during the long struggle of the Cretans, but till lately he was totally ignorant of the regular art of war.' (Vol. I. p. 198.)

On the 11th of September, 1866, Mustapha returned to Crete, and his administration, though remarkable for patience, humanity, and conciliation, afforded no evidence that he had profited by the instruction he had received in the military art more than thirty years ago. It would answer no good purpose to recount the events of the war in detail during the government of Mustapha Pasha as Imperial Commissioner, which lasted from September, 1866, to the arrival of Omar Pasha in April 1867. The forces under his order—Ottoman, Egyptian, Albanian, and native Greek Mussulmans—amounted at one time to about 130,000 men. This force enabled him to drive the insurgents from all the strong positions they had occupied in the vicinity of the fortresses, and gradually to circumscribe their movements and compel them to draw all their supplies from the Christian villages in the mountains or from the blockade-runners that carried on an active trade with the ports of Greece, and particularly with Syra and Cerigo. The military operations of the war were very simple in plan and rude in execution. In consequence of the ignorance and mismanagement of the Central Cretan Committee at Athens there was no attempt to introduce discipline among the Cretans, or maintain it among the volunteers. There was a total want of combination and subordination in the movements of the insurgents, and the disorder that prevailed caused an extravagant waste of the resources at their command. Bands of Christians, under independent chiefs, took

up strong positions according to their own individual views. The Turks, incommoded by their forays, sat down before them, and though their first attacks were often repulsed, and all Europe re-echoed the shouts of the Greeks, who boasted of these repulses as victories, the positions were invariably conquered. Either they were stormed by the Ottoman regular troops, or they were abandoned by the insurgents in the night. Thousands of Turks were reported as having been slain at Malaxa, Lakos, Theriso, Meskla, Keramia, Prosnero, Kisamos, and Selinos, and yet the Turks in the end drove the Greeks from all these positions and remained masters of the ground.

Only two affairs were of some general importance—the battle of Vaphais and the destruction of the monastery of Arkadi—and in both the Ottoman troops were successful, without suffering any serious loss. In the battle of Vaphais a body of Cretan insurgents and Greek volunteers attempted to encounter the regular troops of Mustapha Pasha, and meet a charge with the bayonet. The Greeks were totally defeated; several officers of the Greek army and a number of volunteers were killed, and a few were taken prisoners. The fears of the Russian Ambassador that 'the war, as carried on by the Turks, would be marked by acts of fanatical brutality' were proved to be a vain terror. The prisoners were well treated by the Ottoman troops, and were sent to Constantinople by Mustapha Pasha, whence, after a couple of months' detention, they were allowed to return to Athens on parole.

The affair of the monastery of Arkadi was glorious to the Cretans, as affording an example of self-sacrifice, courage, and patriotism. But it was in no way dishonourable either to the military conduct or the humanity of the Turks. The soldiers in the monastery, which served as a place of refuge for the women and children of the district, were twice summoned to surrender; the soldiers were offered a capitulation if they would lay down their arms, the peasants pardon if they would return to their villages, and the women and children were promised perfect security and protection. These terms were rejected. The Ottoman artillery soon made a breach in the walls of the monastery, and the troops stormed it with the bayonet. The abbot and those who had insisted on rejecting a capitulation, fearing the cruel vengeance of former days and inspired with religious enthusiasm, set fire to the powder magazine and perished.

During the whole period of his command Mustapha Pasha trusted too much to the negotiations he carried on with some Sphakian chiefs as a means of quelling the insurrection, and too often relaxed the rigour of his military operations. He was always troubled by the recollection of the strong representations of the English and French Ambassadors at Constantinople in favour of moderation and conciliatory measures when he assumed the command.

In the spring of 1867, also, the Ottoman Government was seriously embarrassed, and the Greek supporters of the attacks on Turkey were greatly encouraged, by a commencement of diplomatic intervention at Constantinople. It would extend unduly the length of this notice to enter on an examination of the policy pursued by the European Powers at this period. They appeared to be fluttering round the Eastern question like moths round a candle. Those who desire accurate information rather than wild opinions must wait patiently for future and voluminous blue-books. It is only necessary here to note that the representations of the European Powers tended to paralyse the action of the Porte, encourage the resistance of the Cretan mountaineers, and persuade the Hellenic Government that the Cabinets who aided the insurrection with diplomatic conversations, memoirs, memorandums, and notes would be drawn on to aid it with fleets and armies. Under this impression the Greeks resolved to make a diversion in favour of the Cretans by invading the Turkish territory, and getting up revolutionary movements in Thessaly and Epirus. The scheme failed, the invaders of Turkey were beaten back into Greece even more easily than in 1854, and the Christian subjects of the Sultan refused to take up arms.

At this time a new French Ambassador, M. Bourée, was ordered by his Government to use different language from that held by his predecessor M. de Moustier. M. Bourée recommended the Porte to make trial in Crete of the Caesarian panacea for all political evils, a *plebiscite*. The Governments of Russia, Austria, Italy, and Prussia instructed their Ambassadors to act in concert with the French Ambassador, though the state of their own countries rendered it quite impossible for them to speak of applying the principle of *plebiscites* as an anodyne for insurrections. They confined their advice to recommending the establishment of an international commission, to report on the condition of the Christian population, with a suggestion of arriving at independence under the

control of foreign inspection. The disposition of the European Powers to intermeddle with the internal administration of the Ottoman Empire caused considerable uneasiness to the Sultan's Ministers, who are already so much troubled by the statesmanship of consuls that they viewed the appointment of commissioners with despair. The Porte at last perceived the necessity of firmness, of steering clear of the rock indicated by Prince Gortschakoff, and of not 'exhibiting weakness where strong measures are indispensable for its interests.' The Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs replied to the Ambassadors that the insurrection in Crete had been prepared by foreign agencies, and was encouraged and supported by foreign assistance; that the native Christians, being more numerous than the native Mussulmans, would vote in conformity with any orders they might receive from the Central Committee at Athens. The Porte, therefore, though deeply impressed with gratitude to the five Powers who had tendered their counsels, regretted that it was impossible for the Sultan to follow their advice. The Sultan, being the Sovereign of a great Empire inhabited by many nations of different religions, languages, and manners, has received from God a high position which imposes multifarious duties, and it is the first duty of every sentient being to preserve the existence with which it has been endowed by Divine Providence. The Sultan must, therefore, preserve the authority placed in his hands by Heaven to defend every class of his subjects of whatever nation or religion. The Sublime Porte could not contemplate the possibility of the Christian Powers engaging in war for a *plebiscite* that could only gratify a small body of rebellious subjects; but, at all events, the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that such ideas could only lead to another Navarino. The above is reported as having been said by the Sultan's Minister, though it has been denied that it was said at one time to any one Minister. These diplomatic conversations concerning Crete produced no definite result.

The necessity of hastening the suppression of the insurrection in order to avert foreign intervention induced the Ottoman Government to send Omar Pasha, the ablest General in the Sultan's service, to Crete in the month of April. Henceforward the military operations of the Ottoman forces were conducted on scientific principles; all the movements of the troops were combined on a definite plan, and tended to a distinct object. A well-arranged series of skirmishes made the insurgents

display their full strength at the points which Omar proposed subsequently to attack. In these skirmishes, the object of which was not discovered by the Greeks, the insurgents imagined from the retreat of the Turks that the plans of Omar Pasha were defeated. The Greek newspapers were filled with accounts of brilliant victories gained after bloody imaginary battles, in which thousands of Turks were reported as killed when only hundreds were present. After these skirmishes Omar Pasha marched eastward. That part of the island that lies between the Sphakian mountains and Mount Ida, which is mountainous and rugged, but filled with fertile valleys and abounding in large villages, was carefully cleared of insurgent bands. A considerable body of Greek volunteers, landed from blockade-runners in the eastern part of the island, joined by bands of insurgents, entrenched themselves in a high plain called Lasethe, to the east of Ida, and hardly a day's march from the fortress of Candia. The position is extremely strong and was considered by the Greeks to be impregnable. Its defenders were amply supplied with ammunition and provisions, but in the month of June Omar Pasha stormed its rocky barrier and drove the insurgents out of that half of the island which lies to the east of Ida with little difficulty and loss.

A strong force was then sent by sea to occupy Frankokastelli on the southern coast, and a line of posts was established from sea to sea, connecting the camp of Mehemet Pasha on the bay of Armyro with the position of Omar at the south-eastern termination of the Sphakian mountains. The Sphakians and volunteers were now attacked in their own strongholds, and they made a very feeble defence. They had fortified themselves for months in the elevated plains which form a remarkable feature in the geographical configuration of Crete, and which are well described by Pashley and Spratt. These natural fortresses ought to have been, and probably were, well supplied with ammunition and provisions, which had been landed in large quantities at the nearest parts of the Sphakian coast.

The Cretans boast that neither the Romans, the Saracens, nor the Turks ever penetrated through the rocky defiles that lead to these plains, except when assisted by traitors. Yet the troops of Omar Pasha, by perseverance, steady discipline, and skilful flank attacks, forced their way into them without sustaining any very serious loss; and Omar

Pasha drove the insurgents from Kallikrati, Askypho, and Anopolis on the eastern side of the Sphakian mountains and from Omalos on the western. The only position of which the insurgents remained in possession was the valley of Samaria, which can only be entered on one side by the dangerous footpath called Xyloskala, and on the other by the gorge of Aghia Roumeli, a chasm about 10 feet wide, from which a river issues and which is shut in between perpendicular rocks 200 feet high. A fine view of this singular defile is given by Pashley. A few villages and the scattered hamlets in different parts of the Sphakian mountains at an elevation of more than 4,000 feet above the level of the sea remained free from danger and were never approached by the Turks. The boasts that the insurrection was the uprising of a nation resolved on liberty or death, which found their way into blue books, yellow books, and green books, turned out to be the rhetorical artillery of political adventurers to secure foreign intervention. The 20,000 armed Christians who were said to have taken up arms for union with Greece and the 7,000 Sphakians who had resolved to conquer or to die, and, at all events, to fatten the eagles of the White Mountains on the bodies of Turkish Pashas and Beys, never appeared to defend the defiles of Askypho and Omalos. It became manifest that the heart and the sinews of the insurrection were not in Crete, but, as the Ottoman Ministers declared at the commencement of the troubles, in foreign agitators.

Before August commenced, all that which merited the name of war was finished; but the insurrection could not be regarded as suppressed, for bands of armed men and two officers of rank in the Greek army, one of whom had been Minister of War during the interregnum, and the other was brother of a Minister of War of King George,[1] with a few followers, still concealed themselves in the mountains, and found opportunities of making forays into the low country, and of attacking Turkish detachments. Nor is it likely that Omar Pasha will be able to extirpate these bands as long as they can receive encouragement from Russian agents, and supplies from Greek committees and from the Hellenic Government.

Blockade-running forms an important auxiliary of modern insurrections. In the month of June an incident occurred which, in the opinion of the Ottoman Government, afforded just ground for declaring

[1] Koronaîos and Zimbrakakes.

war with the kingdom of Greece. The blockade-runner *Arkadi*, fitted out at Syra by a steam navigation company that enjoys a monopoly of the steam passenger and coasting trade of Greece, and receives a large subvention from the State, and is in great measure under the control of the Hellenic Government, was chased by Ottoman cruisers, and to resist search in Turkish waters fired into the *Izzedin*, a Turkish armed yacht. After a running fight of about two hours the *Arkadi* escaped into the port of Cerigotto, a small island of the Ionian group, lately united to Greece, not more than seventeen miles from the Cretan coast. Here the blockade-runner was blockaded for two days by the Ottoman cruisers.

A correspondence ensued between the Hellenic and Ottoman Governments, which reminded those familiar with the diplomatic history of the East of a correspondence between Aali Effendi and Mr. Kolettes [1] in the year 1847. On that occasion the polished style of the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs contrasted with the petulant tone of the Greek President of the Council of Ministers, and twenty years appear to have made little change in the style and manner of these Oriental diplomatists. The Greek Government commenced the correspondence by complaining of the violation of neutrality by the pursuit of a Greek ship, by firing on her in Greek waters, and by blockading her in a Greek port. For these infractions of the law of nations a demand was made for reparation and for the punishment of the Ottoman officers. The Sultan's Minister replied by asserting the right to pursue a vessel which had evaded the right of search by firing on the Ottoman flag in Turkish waters. He characterised the *Arkadi* as a pirate, which was not entitled to the privileges of a blockade-runner; reminded the Greek Government that the Ottoman Admiral, Ibrahim Pasha, had addressed a demand for the surrender of the *Arkadi* as a pirate to the authorities of Cerigotto, but that the inhabitants had used acts of aggression. Such being the state of the case, the Ottoman Government rejected the demands of the Hellenic Government and made a counter-demand for reparation. The *Arkadi* was no ordinary blockade-runner engaged in regular mercantile speculations, but an armed ship engaged in carrying troops and military stores to Crete, and expressly fitted out to resist the blockading force. In case the Hellenic Government refused to make reparation for protecting this piratical ship, the Sublime Porte would be compelled to

[1] About the Mousouros incident. Finlay, *A History of Greece*, vii. 202.

render it responsible for conduct so hostile to the rights of a friendly Power, and a declaration of war would be the consequence. The Greek Minister closed the correspondence by boldly denying that the *Arkadi* had fired on the *Izzedin* in Turkish waters, and persisted in his demand for satisfaction for the wanton and unjustifiable infraction of neutrality on the part of the Ottoman ships by firing on the Greek flag in Greek waters and blockading a Greek port. Here each party had made out a well-founded *casus belli* against the other. The prudence of the British Government and the protection accorded to the Hellenic kingdom by the three Powers saved Greece from a dangerous crisis. Within two months the *Arkadi* and the *Izzedin* met in Turkish waters, and, after an engagement of two hours, the blockade-runner, being cut off from Cerigotto, was driven ashore on the coast of Crete. The facts were recounted in *The Times* [1] from different authentic sources. It is unnecessary to say more of the celebrated blockade-runner *Arkadi* than that she arrived safely, though in a shattered condition, at Constantinople.

The emigration of upwards of 30,000 women and children from Crete to Greece, which has taken place almost entirely from the western part of the island, excites wonder and requires explanation. At the commencement of hostilities, and almost before any blood was shed, the agitators for union filled Crete as well as Greece with cries of distress and heart-rending narratives of acts of Turkish brutality. Five hundred women and children were reported to have been massacred in one cavern, 300 to have been drowned in another, and 250 massacred in a third. Unheard-of acts of cruelty were said to have been perpetrated in every village that was entered by the Ottoman or Egyptian troops. The object of these reports was to frighten the women and children from their homes, and then to make use of their fears as a proof of the cruelties of the Mussulmans, and as a means of convincing the protecting Powers that it was impossible for Christians and Mussulmans to dwell together in the same island. This was asserted most positively by Greeks who had never seen a Turk, and was often said to foreigners who had been in the habit of seeing thousands of Greeks living on friendly terms both with Turkish and Arabian neighbours, gaining fortunes by Turkish protection, and serving the Ottoman Government with zeal in every capacity from ambassador to tax-gatherer. The excitement caused by

[1] June 1, 20, July 1, September 6, 1867, by Finlay himself.

a well-planned system of agitation was great in the districts to the west of Mount Ida. As early as September, 1866, Mr. Erskine, the British Minister at Athens, informed Lord Stanley that emigrants were arriving in Greece literally by thousands. Greek statesmen believed that if the European Powers could be persuaded to transport women and children to Greece, it would strengthen the insurrection in two ways. It would give greater liberty of action to the armed men who knew their families were in safety and well cared for; and it would be a ground for demanding still further assistance from the European Powers.

The first refugees brought to Greece in a foreign man-of-war were conveyed to the Piraeus by Her Majesty's ship *Assurance*, and the largest amount of money remitted to Greece from abroad for the use of the destitute Cretans came from England. In the month of December, 1866, Captain Pym found several hundred women and children on the southern coast who had fled from fear of the Ottoman troops. Had he sailed on they must have perished. He embarked them and landed them in Greece. In the month of July last the transport of families from Crete to Greece was resumed by Admiral Simon, in consequence of orders from the French Government. Russia, Austria, Italy, and Prussia have all followed the example of France, and 15,000 women and children have been conveyed by them to Greece. The number of Cretan emigrants in Greece is now said to exceed 40,000.

It would be an act of injustice to the population of the Hellenic kingdom to omit noticing that this extensive emigration has been well received, and that all classes have been liberal in supplying the wants of the refugees. The Candian Refugees Relief Fund [1] remitted to Athens more than £10,000 collected in London and Manchester; some money was also remitted from Calcutta, and a considerable sum from Russia. But far the greatest part of the expenditure caused by the Cretan emigration for the maintenance of the poor refugees came, not from foreign committees nor from the Hellenic Government, but from the people of Greece, who have done their duty to themselves and their nationality by acting with true Christian charity.

The five Powers, who have shown some restlessness in attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire, as soon as they believed that Omar Pasha had reconquered Crete, renewed their

[1] Of its Athens Committee Finlay was a member.

counsels to the Porte concerning the best method of arriving at its complete pacification. The Sultan having refused to allow foreign commissioners to participate in governing his empire, has now made an endeavour to bring the troubles of Crete to an end by granting an amnesty to the insurgents. Omar Pasha, in consequence of orders from the Porte, published that the Sultan grants a full and entire amnesty to all the Cretans, without exception, for their acts during the insurrection on their laying down their arms. Their security is guaranteed if they return to their homes and to the cultivation of their property. The Imperial Government permits all the Greek volunteers and Cretans who reject the amnesty to quit the island without molestation, and will allow them to embark either in Ottoman or foreign ships. During the interval from the 20th of September to the 20th of October last year all hostilities ceased, and the war that has been carried on since that period has been a war of brigandage euphoniously termed guerilla warfare.

A CROWNED HEAD AND A STATUE OF A CHILD FROM MESOPOTAMIA

(Plate XXIII.)

The Assyrian Room of the British Museum contains several cases of objects (almost all unpublished) that throw light on the Hellenism of Mesopotamia: the bronzes are chiefly statuettes of Olympian deities, perhaps imported from Egypt or elsewhere, but the stone sculptures and terracottas, however Greek in style, are as often of Asiatic [1] as Greek subjects. Of those that are purely Hellenic in subject a terracotta statue of a male child and a marble head (both in Wall-case 20) are the most striking, though aesthetically among the least successful members of the collection.[2]

Bearded Head wearing a Crown, No. 91592.

The material is a dull-white marble of uncertain locality; the blotched, corroded surface appears at its worst in photographs (Pl. XXIII). The crown takes the form of olive-leaves with a rosette clasp, but, since the olive is not grown in the central portions of Mesopotamia, this was probably one of those golden crowns so frequently awarded in Greek cities to persons who had rendered public services; [3] the head, which is roughly broken off at the neck, may have belonged to an honorary portrait-statue. The height, 15 cm., is approximately two-thirds of life-size. The eye-sockets are flat and shallow, in contrast to the deep pits needed when eyes

[1] I am publishing some of these in *Later Greek Sculpture*, Pl. cv.

[2] I have to thank Dr. H. R. Hall and Mr. Sidney Smith for leave to publish these objects and for discussing them with me.

[3] In Greece the crown of olive was 'given chiefly at Athens, and then by small civic corporations and by religious associations, rarely by the *boule* and *demos*, unless to inferior personages or for trifling services' (Hussey, *Papers of the American School at Athens*, v. 1886–90, p. 135).

were inlaid with a composition (enamel in Greece, a bituminous paste in Babylonia); the sculptor presumably followed another Babylonian usage and gummed in a flake of mother-of-pearl or a slice of lapis lazuli.

The size of the eyes is another un-Greek feature, which had persisted in local sculpture from the Sumerian period. Its first appearance in Greek work is in the Parthian coinage of the second and first centuries B.C. (Fig. 1),[1] when the originally pure Hellenic style had begun to

FIG. 1.—PARTHIAN COINS. A. 139–138 B.C., B. 123–88 B.C., C. 88–77 B.C., D. 77–57 B.C.

suffer from Asiatic encroachments that extinguished it in the following century. As the head lacks the stylisation visible by the time of Christ in both coins and sculpture,[2] it should belong at latest to the first century B.C.; on the other hand, a long period of decadence must have intervened since the carving of the Brussels portrait, from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris,[3] of a bearded man wearing the triple crown assumed by a citizen

[1] The coins illustrated belong to the British Museum and are photographed from casts supplied through the courtesy of Mr. E. S. G. Robinson.

[2] I am treating the monument of Antiochus of Commagene as typically Parthian, and its 'snow-man' heads in the round as fair specimens of the school's ambitious work (Hamdy-Osgan, *Tumulus de Nemroud-Dagh*, have better views of the heads than Humann-Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien*).

[3] Cumont, Cat. No. 36.

acting as the yearly chief priest of his town; the style of this fine head would allow it to be placed at the end of the fourth or in the third century. It is improbable that the British Museum portrait would have been held acceptable by Greeks under Seleucid rule; it should be assigned, as is indicated by the large eyes, to the Parthian period of the late second or first century. Being a relic of the death of Greek art but survival of Greek customs it has a certain value.

FIG. 2.—TERRACOTTA BOY FROM MESOPOTAMIA (BRITISH MUSEUM).

TERRACOTTA STATUE OF A MALE CHILD, No. 92216.

A boy of perhaps two years old (Fig. 2) is seated on a semicircular base, rounded in front and straight behind; he is nude except for a cord passing over the right shoulder and under the left breast; a round object is attached to the cord near the neck. The outstretched hands apparently held objects, of which one at least may be presumed, from the analogies quoted below, to have been a bird. The mouth is straight, and someone

has apparently deepened it by cutting with a sharp instrument which slipped out to the left, gashing the cheek. The back is left rough; in the middle is a large hole such as is normally provided in terracottas to permit the escape of steam during firing. The clay is coarse-grained and sandy, of a dull buff colour; total height, 37 cm.; height of the base, 9 cm.; no restorations.

There is no record of the provenance, but the Museum possesses the torso of a similar figure found at Birs Nimrud (Borsippa),[1] whereby a Babylonian origin is indicated.

These two terracottas belong to a very numerous class of statues of children, widely distributed throughout antiquity, the characteristic type being the child wearing an amulet or other magical suspension slung from the neck, with a bird or animal in the hand. The purport of such figures has been a matter of some dispute; they have been described as *genre* figures, as votive or sepulchral figures of mortal children, and as votive figures of divine children. The last view was ably pressed by the late M. Svoronos in a series of articles in the *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, but his position may now be shewn to be untenable; a fresh examination of the material is required rather than a mere correction of his opinions, so I begin by enumerating such figures known to me as seem important in this connection.

(*a*) Some hundreds of limestone and terracotta boys found in Cyprus,[2] in date ranging from the fifth or fourth century B.C. to the end of paganism. They vary in apparent age from perhaps six months to eleven years. A few are nude, most wear a vest drawn up in front to establish their sex; nearly all wear a chain of beads with many pendant amulets; they usually hold a bird or a hare. They occur in sanctuaries of the Paphian Aphrodite and of Apollo, whose name can be read in their fragmentary inscriptions.[3] It has been suggested that they represent real children dedicated to the deity like the Jewish Samuel, a divine child who, like Horus, is suckled by his mother, a divine companion of the deity such as Adonis or Eros, or a more independent child-deity comparable to Harpokrates.

[1] No. 91837; now placed next the other boy. Preserved from neck to thighs; the surface is much worn, and it is hard to decide whether the cord across the breast bore a suspension. Coarse, sandy clay of the greenish hue common in well-baked Babylonian pottery.

[2] Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, pp. 128, 185, 259, 361; illustrations on pp. 185–7, 259.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 305, 529.

(*b*) Ten marble boys and a few girls from Thespiae.[1] The boys are nude and generally stand upright holding birds; the girls are draped (one of them resembles a familiar statue at Delphi).[2] A statue of Asklepios was found at the same spot, which is conjectured to have been an Asklepieion.

(*c*) Seated boy from Thera; a fourth-century inscription states that it was a dedication to Artemis by Kleodais.[3]

(*d*) Two standing and two seated girls found in a sanctuary of Ilithyia on the Ilissos;[4] they hold birds and wear coin-shaped amulets on strings that cross over the breast. An inscription of *circa* 300 B.C. states that they were the gift of a married woman, and under one child is carved *Εὐκολίνη*, which was a common name in Attica.

(*e*) Boy with a duck, from the Amphiaraion at Oropos.[5]

(*f*) Two marble boys and fragments of others from the temple of Eshmun at Sidon.[6] The normal Greek equivalent for Eshmun was Asklepios, but he can also be identified as Adonis, and so stands for the Male Principle, and in a wider sense for Fertility.

(*g*) Bronze and terracotta boys from Etruria.[7] A bronze example found near Lake Trasimene bears on his leg the inscription *Fleres tec sansl cver*, possibly a dedication to Semo Sanctus: another found near Corneto has a dedication to Selvans on the stump of his arm. Both wear bullas.

(*h*) A bronze boy with a bird, of the Imperial age, is of interest from the circumstance that it was found in Cilicia.[8]

(*i*) Boy holding a puppy, from the Hieron of Epidauros; another of uncertain provenance in the Athens Museum.[9]

It is obvious from the find-spots, as well as from the multiplicity of images on the one site, that these statues had more than a *genre* significance to the Greeks, Phoenicians, Cypriotes and Etruscans; they

[1] *B.C.H.*, xlvi., 1922, Figs. on pp. 224–31, 237, 245–7.

[2] Bulle, *Schöne Mensch*², Pl. 191 r.; Collignon, *Statues funéraires*, Fig. 122.

[3] *Thera*, iii. p. 58, Fig. 43.

[4] National Museum, Athens, Nos. 693–6; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1917, Pls. I*a*, II; *Jahresh.*, iv., 1901, p. 211, Figs. 227, 228, tail-piece; Collignon, *op. cit.*, Figs. 119–22.

[5] *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1917, p. 241, Fig. 3.

[6] *Syria*, v., 1924, p. 47, Pl. XVII; Contenau, *Civilisation Phénicienne*, p. 111.

[7] Helbig, *Führer*, i., Nos. 439, 681, 702; Hausenstein, *Bildnerei der Etrusker*, Pls. XLIII–XLV.

[8] In Constantinople Museum. *Rev. Arch.* 3, xxxv., 1899, 2, p. 206, Pl. XIX.

[9] *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1909, p. 165, Fig. 14 (Epidauros), Fig. 15 (unknown).

were therefore sepulchral or votive. Svoronos declared, on the ground that no statues of this character had been discovered in cemeteries, that none were of sepulchral intent.[1] Against this it may be urged that fourth-century gravestones of boys and girls frequently represent them in similar poses with birds and dogs;[2] hence it can only be said that the class *as a whole* is not sepulchral.[3]

If, however, we decide that most were votive offerings there arises the question of whether the subjects were mortal children or deities. Svoronos believed them to be the sons and daughters of Asklepios, or in rare instances Asklepios himself, interpreting the statues as thank-offerings of adults for health restored; he accounted for the type of a boy holding or strangling a goose by allotting to an obscure son, Ianiskos, the province of curing malaria, typified in art as a bird which lives in fever-haunted swamps. Now among the numerous representations of infant gods (instances of Dionysos, Eros, Herakles and Hermes will be readily called to mind) are some of Asklepios; Svoronos published one from Epidauros, a relief shewing a colossal baby boy with a female attendant;[4] moreover, a pair of epigrams at Rome commemorate a Smyrnaean doctor's dedication of a statue of this subject in gratitude for recovery from illness, though possibly the original purpose of the statue was not adhered to, its sculptor, Boethos, having died centuries before.[5] On the other hand, there are no certain representations of Asklepios' children, whose place in ritual was distinctly subsidiary; they are, it is true, invoked in prayers to their father,[6] but solely as a list of names, no attempt being made to differentiate their personalities or occupations except when their exploits as grown men are mentioned,[7] and the actual names vary enormously in the extant lists. Such brief forms of address

[1] *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1917, p. 78.

[2] Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, Pls. CLVI, CLVII, CLXI, CLXVII; cf. a fifth-century stela at Brocklesby Park, Waldmann, *Gr. Originale*, Pl. LXXVIII.

[3] An epigram (*Anth. Pal.*, vii. 564) that recounts the restoration of a statue of one of Priam's daughters to her tumulus can be set aside on the ground that the girl had become heroised, whilst another epigram (vii. 649) to be placed on the sepulchral statue of a girl who died unmarried does not state her age, though Greek custom renders it probable that she was immature.

[4] *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1917, p. 85, Fig. 12.

[5] Cougny, *Anth. Pal. Appendix*, p. 37, No. 82.

[6] Herodas, iv. 6; *I.G.* iii., *Add.*, 171 *b*; Bergk, *Carm. Pop.*, 47; Jayne, *Healing Gods*, p. 247.

[7] Podaleirios and Machaon are mentioned as *Ἑλλήνων ἄκρα λόγχης*, or as *Λεωμέδοντος οἰκίην τε καὶ τείχη πέρσαντες, ἰητῆρες ἀγρίων νούσων.*

do not testify to enthusiasm in the votaries, and the real basis for the theory is the inclusion of Boethos' boy and goose among the contents of the temple of Asklepios at Cos.

Recent excavations have added nothing to our knowledge of this statue, for which Herodas remains the principal authority. His fourth mime opens with an invocation of Asklepios and his household to a sacrifice; the business done, the two women visitors leave the cult-images and look round the building, noticing in turn the statues of a girl looking longingly at an apple, of an old man, of the boy strangling a goose, and of Batale, daughter of Myttes. The significance of the first is uncertain,[1] but the statues of the old man and Batale can hardly be other than votive portraits; of the latter there can, in fact, be no doubt, for the text indicates that she was a contemporary of the visitors and followed the same profession of courtesan.[2] Here was no fit company for a young god;[3] it suggests rather that the boy was a mortal whose parents dedicated his image because the god had answered their prayers. And this is supported by the analogy of an Athenian mother's dedication of a girl statue labelled *Εὐκολίνη*, a common Attic name used as the title of a goddess only when Callimachus applies it in antiphrasis to Hekate (it means "Contented" or "Placid"). I do not see how Svoronos' theory can survive in the face of such evidence, which is passed over in his articles.[4] As for the birds on which he lays stress, the goose was indeed sacred to Asklepios, though sacrificed only to Isis, while the equally frequent doves and ducks hardly ever performed ritual functions; it would seem, therefore, that birds appear in art merely as household pets, like the puppies which occasionally take their place.

[1] Kenyon and Murray sought a parallel on the Assteas vase, where a girl looks up at an apple on the serpent-guarded tree of the Hesperides, but any connection of this scene with Asklepios could only be symbolical.

[2] Apart from the mention of Batale's manner of walking (a recognised test of virtue among the ancients), the women have informative names, as quotations from Hesychios will show: for *Batale* cf. *Βάταλος—καταπύγων καὶ ἀνδρόγυνος, κίναιδος, ἔκλυτος*; for *Myttes* cf. *Μύτις—ὁ πρὸς τὰ Ἀφροδίσια ἐκλελυμένος*, and *Μύττυες—οἱ ἔκλυτοι καὶ παρειμένοι*, and *Μυττὸς—τὸ γυναικεῖον μόριον*. One of the visitors is called Phila and the other *Κυννώ*, a hypocoristic form of *Κύννα*, which was originally the name of an Amazon, but is explained by both Hesychios and Photios as *ὄνομα πόρνης* (Headlam-Knox edn. of Herodas, p. 186). Batale's statue was an expensive gift, doubtless vowed for recovery from a disease.

[3] Another child by Boethos was preserved in the Heraion at Olympia (Pausanias, v. 17, 4); the fact that it sat naked before an Aphrodite suggests an Eros Apteros.

[4] Svoronos states (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1917, p. 88) that this name cannot have been that of a mortal woman, ignoring the inscriptions, *C.I.G.* i., Nos. 781, 946, 1021.

The Smyrnaean doctor offered his statue of the young Asklepios after his recovery from sickness; the occasions on which statues of mortal children were offered must now be considered. They were dedicated to Amphiaraos, Asklepios, Artemis, and Ilithyia, to the Cypriote Apollo and Aphrodite, to a Sidonian Asklepios-Adonis, to a couple of obscure Etruscan gods. Leaving Cypriotes and Etruscans out of account for the moment, the remaining deities can be linked together by their concern with childbirth, but by nothing else, and the obvious solution of the statues is that they were thanksgivings after the birth of children. The Anthology supplies many stories of vows paid after easy delivery, some epigrams being actually the dedications of statues. In the poem of Callimachus (vi. 150),

᾽Ιναχίης ἕστηκεν ἐν Ἴσιδος ἡ Θάλεω παῖς
Αἰσχυλίς, Εἰρήνης μητρὸς ὑποσχεσίῃ,

the child's age is left uncertain; this does not apply in another case (vi. 269) summarised by Cougny as *in Sapphus epigrammate Aristo puellae recens natae imaginem Dianae consecrat* :—

Παῖδες, ἄφωνος ἔοισα τόδ᾽ ἐννέπω, αἴ τις ἔρηται
φώναν ἀκαμάταν κατθεμένα πρὸ πόδων·
Αἰθοπίᾳ με κόρᾳ Λάτως ἀνέθηκεν ᾽Αρίστω
᾽Ερμοκλειδαία τῶ Σαϋναϊάδα
σὰ πρόπολος, δέσποινα γυναίκων· ᾇ σὺ χάρεισα
πρόφρων ἀμετέραν εὐκλέϊσον γενέαν.

The sense of an inscription at Ancona [1] is plain in spite of its broken condition :—

Ἄρτεμί, σοὶ τόδ᾽ ἄγαλμ᾽ [ἱέρωσ᾽ ὠδῖνα φυγοῦσα]
᾽Ασφαλίω μήτηρ [Φ]έρσι[ς, Ὄρω θυ]γάτηρ.

These two dedications to Artemis are equally to the point, as the attribution to Sappho is probably false; such a statue is unlikely in the seventh century, and both epigrams may fall within the period over which our figures extend.

[1] Cougny, *Anth. Pal. Appendix*, i. 55. The stone is reported to have come from the Peloponnese.

The Cypriote examples present some difficulty, for boys only are represented, and in extraordinary numbers. They are hung about with amulets, a means of protection against devils and disease scarcely needed by young deities, and were offered to both Apollo and Aphrodite: an identification with Asklepios is therefore untenable. It is possible that this Apollo included the functions of Asklepios with his own; and the absence of female figures is not surprising in this half-Oriental island, where the preference for male offspring may well have been so strong that the birth of girls was not acknowledged. No evidence can be adduced for the conjecture that the statues are thanksgivings for fecundity as well as for the birth of children (although the Paphian goddess and the Sidonian Eshmun are both connected with fertility): another suggestion has been put forward by an Orientalist of my acquaintance, that these figures were substituted for the boys who should have been given for divine service as *hierodouloi*, in accordance with Phoenician custom, but their age ranges between six months and eleven years, precisely the time of life at which they would have possessed no religious value.[1] On the whole the Cypriote boys should be interpreted in the same sense as Greek children: Etruscan boys should be left unexplained.

From all the analogies it may be assumed that the Mesopotamian terracottas were votive offerings made to some god or goddess after the birth of sons: their date can only be decided by comparison with the rest of the group. The inscribed Greek statues are of the fourth and third centuries, the language does not permit boys with Etruscan inscriptions to be later than the first century B.C., while the Cypriote boys spread over seven hundred years; the Mesopotamian figures evidently fall early in the series, resembling Etruscan and Greek statues. Their age can be established more closely by assembling the Greek examples in chronological order. We start on firm ground, as gravestones of the later fourth century[2] can be dated epigraphically; in general it may be said that the children of this time lack definition in faces and bodies

[1] Such practices as are recorded of Tiberius (Suetonius, *Tib.* xliv.) were not unusual in the Levant, but would scarcely have been feasible with children of more than a few weeks old.

[2] Typical stelae are those of Kephisodotos at Argos (*J.H.S.* xi. 1890, p. 101), Poseidippos at Piraeus (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1910, p. 75, No. 4), Plangon at Munich (No. 199; Conze, Pl. CLVI; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1909, p. 124, Fig. 2), Philokrates at Palermo (*Einzelaufnahmen*, 564), Kleitomachos at Constantinople (Mendel, Cat. 17); cf. Praxiteles' child at Olympia and the Athens stela from the Ilissos with funerary group.

alike, flabby modelling revealing the work of unsure hands. About 300 B.C. children's characteristics are better caught, but their structure is not yet mastered (examples of known date are furnished by the stela of a boy Aristopho in the Piraeus Museum [1] and the four statues of girls from the Ilissos; similar girls in the Este collection [2] and at Berlin [3] can be added from analogy). Then faces become firm and precise, and shapes clearly determined by the anatomy: external evidence for dating the members of this group does not exist in the absence of stelae, but no doubt most of the third century is covered by such work as the boy in the Athens Museum,[4] the British Museum silver boy from Alexandria [5] and boy's head from Paphos,[6] the girls at Delphi [7] and Munich,[8] the Morgan Eros,[9] the Vatican bronze boy from lake Trasimene: [10] backward figures such as the other Vatican bronze [11] or the related fragments from Thespiae and Sidon may be placed early in the century. The heads of a boy in Alexandria,[12] of a girl in the Museo Celio,[13] and of a satyr-boy in Munich (bronze) [14] cannot come long before 250; a superficially similar head of a satyr-boy on a bronze horse-trapping [15] shows the transition from the fourth-century type. Some terracotta Erotes from an inscribed tomb at Eretria may be assigned to the end of the century.[16] The "Innocentia" of the Capitoline Museum is a Pergamene elaboration of types like the Delphi girl, while the much-copied Boy and Goose (of Munich, Capitoline, etc.) is dated by comparison with a figure on the Telephos frieze, whereby the old attribution to Boethos receives some needed support; the Capitoline Eros and Psyche, and an Etruscan boy

[1] *'Αρχ. 'Εφ.*, 1913, p. 202, Fig. 11.
[2] No. 380; *Einzelaufnahmen*, 66.
[3] No. 505; Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, Pl. XXXV.
[4] *'Αρχ. 'Εφ.*, 1909, p. 133, Pl. V; Collignon, *Statues funéraires*, p. 196, Fig. 123; Krahmer dates early third century, *Röm. Mitt.* xxxviii–ix., 1923–4, p. 159.
[5] *Cat. Silver Plate*, 7; Krahmer dates *circa* 240, *op. cit.*, p. 161, note 1.
[6] *J.H.S.*, ix., 1888, p. 72, Pl. X.
[7] Bulle, *op. cit.*, Pl. 191 r.; Collignon, *op. cit.*, Fig. 122.
[8] No. 490; *Einzelaufnahmen*, 1992; Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, Pl. XXI.
[9] *Exhibition of Greek Art, Burlington Club*, p. 23, Pls. I, XXIX; Walters, *Art of the Greeks*, Pl. LVII, 2.
[10] Helbig, 681; Hausenstein, *Bildnerei der Etrusker*, Pl. XLIV.
[11] Helbig, 702; Hausenstein, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLIII.
[12] Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, p. 17, Pl. XXII *a*.
[13] Alinari, 28070.
[14] No. 450; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 110, Pl. XXII *b*.
[15] *J.H.S.*, xxix., 1909, p. 157, Fig. 9.
[16] Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 111, Pl. I.

at Leyden[1] seem to be contemporary. Later developments can be studied at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Nos. 168, 169, 170, 173*a*; *Billedtavler*, xiii.).

When confronted with all their companions, the two Babylonian boys fall at once into the third-century group, with the Sidonian and Etruscan (Vatican) types. They belong to the Seleucid period at which Mesopotamia kept closely in touch with the larger Greek centres; the degeneration that followed the Parthian conquest is exemplified by the crowned head with which this article begins.

A. W. LAWRENCE.

[1] Hausenstein, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLV.

Note.—Since the type of this paper was set up, a valuable article on Parthian sculptures has appeared in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, xxxi., 1927, p. 338, where Prof. D. M. Robinson identifies a head in his possession as a portrait of Mithradates I. This obviously is a finer work of the school that produced the British Museum head.

ON THE THERMON METOPES

THE principal series of metopes from Thermon has been familiar for so long that further discussion of them may seem unnecessary. I hope, however, that the following pages are justified by the collective result of the small observations which they contain, if not by any single one of these. There is little of a general nature to be said after Koch's excellent article in *Ath. Mitt.*, 1914.

I. *Chelidon and Aedon.* (*Antike Denkmäler*, ii., Pl. L, 1 (Soteriades). Photographs of details, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1914, Pls. XIII, XIV (Koch)).

In the first place, a word as to the technique, the surprising elaborateness of which calls for more close attention than it has hitherto received. An interesting point is that the contours of the female flesh are drawn in bright red, the same as is used for the inscription, and for many details of dress. This use of red outlines for female flesh occurs, though not commonly, on Corinthian vases—on hydriae in the Louvre (E. 695) and in Dresden, where the faces and bodies of the sirens under the side handles are outlined in this way. It is found also in Attic vase painting—in two Sophilos fragments [1] and in the fragment of similar style, from the Acropolis, with Pandrosos and Poseidon.[2] The Corinthianising character of these has long been recognised, and the usage seems to be a subtlety which vase painters occasionally borrowed from the free painting of the time. On the other hand, male flesh in all the metopes is consistently outlined with black; the reason for the distinction is not easy to see, but it is possible that the artist was in search of equivalents for rendering the colours proper to the sexes—brown outlined with black for the male being used to balance white outlined with red for the female. In any case, the distinction was carefully maintained and was evidently felt to be significant. A further subtlety is introduced to obviate the

[1] *Akropolisvasen*, Pl. XXVI. *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.*, 1898, Pl. I.
[2] *Akropolisvasen*, text, p. 63, No. 585.

clash of this red flesh-contour with the red of the dresses; the lower contour of the arm of Chelidon where it runs against the dress is painted with reddish-brown, a different colour from that used for male flesh, but similar to that used for washing round the extreme edges of the plaques, where they are covered by the enclosing architectural members. The eyes and eyebrows are painted black, the ears, hair-bands and parts of borders at the necks and sleeves of the dresses in red.

The correspondence between the skirt pattern and that of a very early Corinthian fragment from Aegina has already been pointed out by Studniczka;[1] it is perhaps worth remarking that this pattern does not appear on other Corinthian vases; it is, on the other hand, characteristic of very early work, for it is found on a Protocorinthian aryballos in Berlin[2] and is traceable ultimately to the geometric and Protogeometric styles in Crete.[3] Finally, the border of coloured triangles at the bottom of the skirt, which recurs on the hunter metope, also has its nearest analogies in other very early works, such as the paintings of the Grotta Campana at Veii, conclusively shown to be based on Cretan originals,[4] and in the early Corinthian Gorgon plaque from Syracuse.[5]

The interpretation of the scene as the sisters Chelidon and Aedon preparing their brother Itys for the table has long been thought to have probability in its favour; Robert regarded it as certain and spoke of a letter A near Aedon, a detail which is no longer visible.[6] It is, however, proved to be correct by the fact that the head of Itys is clearly discernible, lying between the forearms of Chelidon[6bis] (a sketch in which the visible lines are shown is given in Fig. 1), so that not only the significance, but also the main lines, of the composition are put beyond dispute. The head, as one would expect, is considerably smaller than that of the other figures, and, in accordance with the convention already referred to, is

[1] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1899, p. 371.

[2] Johansen, *Vases Sicyoniens*, Pl. XXXIII, 1, d.

[3] Geometric: fragment from Prinia, *Annuario*, i. p. 73, Fig. 14. Vases from Arcadia, in Candia. Protogeometric: Candia 371, from Kourtes.

[4] Rumpf, *Die Wandmalereien in Veii*, Diss., Leipzig, 1917.

[5] *Monumenti Antichi*, xxv., Pl. XVI; on the date of this plaque *v. infra.* Also the doubling of the patterns at the base of the dress, the inner border being a tongue pattern, is similar in the metope and in the Gorgon plaque.

[6] *Heldensage*, p. 155, note 1.

[6bis] Mr. Forsdyke of the British Museum and Dr. Kunze of the German Institute, who examined the metope with me, are kind enough to allow me to say that they agree with me in this matter.

outlined with black; a considerable part of the contours of the nose, of the hair and ear, and of the eye, half closed in death, is visible;[1] these lines are all more or less obscured by a mass of black deposit, the position of which is accurately indicated in the drawing in *Antike Denkmäler*. Since Chelidon holds the head not with the hands, but between her forearms, it is plain that the body is not yet decapitated, and from the similar position of Aedon it may equally be inferred that it is not yet dismembered, but lies stretched stiffly between the two figures. It is hard to believe that the picture was complete in this form, and in fact

FIG. 1.—DETAIL OF METOPE WITH CHELIDON, AEDON AND ITYS.

the leg of a table which stood between the figures can still be traced above the right foot of Chelidon.

II. *Three Goddesses Seated.* (*Ant. Denk.* ii., Pl. L, 2. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Fig. 483.)

From the expectant air and gestures of the figures it is difficult to avoid the inference that this metope is not complete within itself. It must surely have been composed, in characteristic archaic fashion, in conjunction with one or more of the adjoining metopes. To convince oneself of this, however, is easier than to suggest the subject of its fellow or fellows; seated goddesses being unusual in a Judgment of Paris

[1] I do not feel sure that the curved lines about the neck, which suggest the chin and lower lips of an open mouth, are part of the painting.

scene, one might suggest that we have here the figures on the left of the central group in the Introduction of Herakles, or, less probably, in the Birth of Athena. A further search amongst the unpublished and unexhibited fragments might solve the problem.

III. The same dependence on another scene is clearly suggested in the case of the metope with two seated figures (*Ant. Denk.* ii., Pl. LII, A, 5). The seated frontal figure on the right presents an early parallel, unique so far as I am aware, to the figure of Hera in the *poros* pediment from the Acropolis (Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur,* Pl. I). The profiles of these figures, inaccurately rendered in the publication, are similar to those of the women in the first metope. It is, perhaps, not absolutely certain that this metope belongs to the series with which we are concerned.

IV. *Fragment: leg and foot of running figure.* (Unpublished: see *Ant. Denk.* ii., text, p. 6.)

The figure was in the same position as Perseus and wearing the same kind of boot; the flesh being white, the figure was female, and though the suggestion does not seem to have been made, it is obvious that this metope represented one of the Gorgons pursuing Perseus. Loewy's suggestion [1] that the Gorgoneion metope (*v. infra*) is to be connected in idea with Perseus would therefore seem to be improbable. This is the earliest existing representation of the subject.

V. *Perseus.* (*Ant. Denk.* ii., Pl. LI, 1. Pfuhl, Fig. 482.)

The publication, good as it is, does not do justice either to the details or to the brilliant colouring of the whole, the discoloration of the background, which was originally a delicate lemon-yellow in all the metopes, being rather too faithfully represented. The peculiar division of the chiton into red and yellow surfaces recurs on the succeeding metope, and on a very fine unpublished Corinthian aryballos in Delos which belongs to a date considerably before the end of the seventh century. Garments of this kind do not appear on later Corinthian vases and seem to be typical of this particular phase of the Corinthian style. The cable border of black, with a central stripe of red, is a characteristic Protocorinthian and not a Corinthian pattern.

VI. *Hunter.* (*Ant. Denk.* ii., Pl. LI, 2. Pfuhl, Fig. 480. *Ath. Mitt.,* 1914, Pl. XV, detail.)

[1] *Jahreshefte,* 1911, xiv., p. 28.

The description of this metope, in many ways the finest of the whole series, must be corrected in one or two details. The band worn diagonally across the body is not a sword-belt but belongs to the quiver, traces of which are still visible above the shoulder both in the original and on the plate. A quiver, moreover, is obviously necessary, as the hunter is carrying a bow. He has no sword, and the object above the right elbow which is explained as a sword must be something else. It is easy to see what this is, a band, no doubt of leather, tied across the bent

FIG. 2.—DETAIL OF HUNTER METOPE.

arm above the elbow (see the sketch with reconstruction, Fig. 2). The weight of the quarry at either end of the pole is considerable, and, though the burden is borne principally by the shoulder, there is a tendency to press the arm not only downwards but also forwards; the band is clearly a simple means of counteracting the latter strain.

As Soteriades has said, the Thermon hunter, from his magnificent costume and giant's strength, must be a hero or a god; but the long hair absolutely precludes the suggested identification with Herakles; we must suppose, therefore, that he is some local hero, a hunter typical of a country which was famous for its hunting. This subject then may have

been painted specially for the Aetolians by the Corinthian artists who came to decorate the temple.

The hunter metope is important in that it provides the easiest field for stylistic criticism. To enter into this question fully is not possible on the present occasion, since to do so would involve a consideration of the whole development of Protocorinthian and Corinthian figure-painting. The important points may, however, be stated here: if the Thermon hunter be compared on the one hand with the most developed Protocorinthian painting, on the other with the early Corinthian style as we see it in the Eurytios krater (Louvre E. 635) and the Timonidas pinax, it will be seen at once that though there is a very considerable difference between the style of Protocorinthian vases and that of the metopes, there are still points in common between the two which warrant the placing of the metopes nearer to Protocorinthian than to Corinthian work. This is most easily judged by a canon of radical importance —the proportions of the figures. Like the figures of the Chigi vase and of almost all careful Protocorinthian work, the Thermon hunter is very long of limb; the torso is strangely slight in build, despite the breadth of the shoulders; the legs, measured to the groin, are more than half the height of the whole. On the metope there is already a certain heaviness about the lower limbs which one associates with most Corinthian but not with Protocorinthian drawing, but the proportions to which I have referred and the daring elegance of the whole take us far from the rather mundane world of the Corinthian figure style. For other details, such as the way in which the thick long locks of hair fall over the shoulders, by far the closest parallels are the figures of the Chigi vase. I have already alluded to the associations of some of the dress patterns with early work. The evidence considered is further supported by that of the Gorgoneion metope with which we shall now deal.

VII. *Gorgoneion.* (*Ant. Denk.* ii., Pl. LII, 1.)

This metope is compared by Soteriades with the Gorgoneia on the handle-plates of a late Corinthian column-krater in the Vatican;[1] the resemblance, however, is not close, and there is little doubt that the Thermon Gorgoneion belongs to a group which is distinctly earlier than the period of the red-ground Corinthian vases. The later group, of which the Vatican krater offers excellent examples, consists of the Gorgoneia

[1] Albizzati, *Vasi Antichi dipinti del Vaticano,* fasc. ii, p. 46, Fig. 14.

which frequently decorate the interior of Corinthian cups, etc., of the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C.,[1] and of those on light-ground and red-ground Corinthian kraters, oinochoai,[2] etc., the latest of which take us into the second quarter of the sixth century. The characteristics of these are the comparatively slight distortion of the face, the reasonable proportions of the features, and the plain curving contour of the hair. In contrast with this type, the Protocorinthian and early Corinthian Gorgoneia stand out as far more powerful expressions of the original apotropaic idea.[3] Primary characteristics of these are the mouth stretched almost from ear to ear, and the forehead hair arranged schematically in the spiral curls[4] familiar from the earliest sculptures—but, as we should expect, there is more individual variety than in the later works already mentioned, and nothing of their mechanical sophistication. The Thermon Gorgoneion is easily recognisable as belonging to this earlier group, and in the proportions of the features and the general treatment of the face bears a resemblance to that of the early Corinthian alabastron in Syracuse, a drawing of which, with the kind permission of Professor Orsi, is given in Fig. 3. The vase in question was found in Tomb 501 at Megara Hyblaea in company with a late

[1] E.g. *Coll. Somzée*, Pls. XLII, XLIII (Pfuhl, Fig. 71), (*Brussels Corpus*, i. Pl. IV).
Jahrbuch, 1898, Pl. XII.
Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, 18, Fig. 10.
Frankfurt, Schaal, *Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, Pl. VII.
Graef, *Akropolisvasen*, Pl. XXV, 425 B.
Copenhagen, *Corpus*, Pl. XC, 1.
Athens, 330 and 641, etc., etc.
Cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, 1905, Pl. VIII (Pfuhl, Fig. 174).

[2] E.g. *Mon. Piot*, xx. Pl. XVI (Louvre E. 638 *bis*).
British Museum, B. 39.
Jahrbuch, 1892, Pl. I. *Brussels Corpus*, i. Pl. V, 2.
Louvre E. 643 (Album I, Pl. LI).
Whole figures Berlin 1655, *F.R.* iii. Pl. LII; Florence 3755.

[3] Protocorinthian: Johansen Pls. XXXI, XXXIX, XLI, 5.
Early Corinthian: round aryballos in Delos 6194, 190 (whole figure).
Alabastron in Syracuse (Megara Hyblaea Tomb 501), detail, Fig. 3.
Alabastron in Philadelphia.
Transitional to later Corinthian type: Alabastra, Louvre C.A. 1427.
Vienna, Oest. Mus. 84 (Masner, p. 8, Fig. 5).
Louvre A. 464 (Album I, Pl. XVI). It is impossible to judge the details of the Gorgoneion on the aryballos from Gela, Johansen, Pl. XXXIV, 2; the drawing either in the original or in the publication seems slightly confused.

[4] The aryballos in Delos mentioned in the previous note is the only early example in which the hair is not treated in this way. The hair seems to be omitted in the Syracuse vase, Johansen, Pl. XLI, 5.

Protocorinthian aryballos, and belongs to the beginning of the 'Corinthian period,' that is, appreciably before the end of the seventh century B.C.

We have already had occasion to compare the Thermon metopes with the Gorgon plaque from Syracuse (*Mon. Ant.* xxv. Pl. XIV). The style of the Gorgoneion provides a very strong argument for dating this excellent example of the Corinthian style to the period of which we are speaking, and not to the middle of the sixth century, to which it is usually [1] assigned. The criteria already applied will be seen at once to point unmistakably to the early date, and to reinforce decisively the argument from the plastic style. In this respect the advance shewn even in the

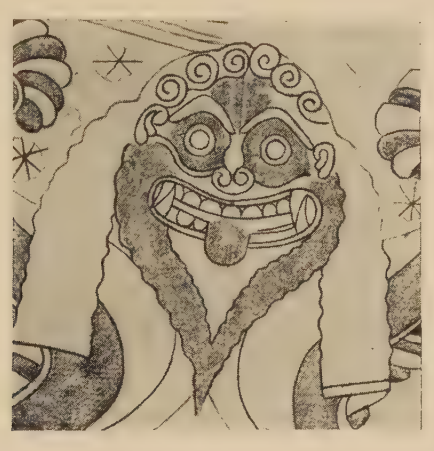


FIG. 3.—GORGONEION FROM AN EARLY CORINTHIAN ALABASTRON.

Corfu sculptures is so obvious as to make further comment unnecessary; [2] still less then is there need to recall the marble acroterion from the Acropolis at Athens.[3]

VIII. *Fragment with lion's head.* (*Ant. Denk.* ii., Pl. LII, 3; *Ath. Mitt.*, 1914, p. 248, Fig. 5.)

Koch has pointed out that the style corresponds exactly with that of the lion-head waterspouts; the Chigi vase gives a close parallel for the shape of the head, stylisation of the muzzle, etc. It is difficult to conjecture the subject.

[1] Most recently by Van Buren, *Archaic Fictile Revetments*, p. 159.

[2] *Πρακτικά*, 1911, p. 175.

[3] Dickins, *Cat. Acrop. Mus.* 701. Schrader, *Archaische Marmor-Skulpturen im Akropolis-Museum zu Athen*, p. 5 ff.

The fragment Pl. LII, 2 is quite unintelligible to me.

IX. *Typhon.* (Unpublished.)

This metope is referred to by Soteriades as having perhaps represented a sphinx. The size and position of the wing, however, make it plain that a figure with *two* spread wings is required, such as Artemis or a Boread. The question is settled by traces of the end of a sweeping curve in the left-hand corner which show that the figure was 'Typhon,' probably placed in much the same way as on the Chalcidian hydria in Munich (*F.R.* i., XXXI, XXXII). It might have been the normal Corinthian type with a single snake body, but the square field would be more easily filled by the other form.

The comparisons cited in the preceding pages would seem to support the view which has already been put forward,[1] that the principal series of metopes, and the other architectural members which go with them,[2] belong to the period of transition from the Protocorinthian to the Corinthian style, that is, probably, to the years between 650 and 630 B.C. There are indications in them of the later Corinthian manner, just as there is in the earliest Thermon antefixes a Corinthian quality of which there is no trace in the Mycenae pediment [3] and in the heads of the Protocorinthian plastic vases. But the new spirit has made comparatively little progress and we are still in a world removed from the sobriety of the early Corinthian and from the broad, obvious polychromy of later Corinthian figure style. It is disappointing that amongst the pinakes from Pente Skouphia, some of which go back into the Protocorinthian period, there are comparatively few points of close contact with the Thermon style.

H. G. G. PAYNE.

[1] Cf. Buschor in *Ath. Mitt.*, 1922, p. 54.

[2] The connection of the earliest antefixes, etc., with the metopes has been convincingly proved by Koch, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1914, 237 ff.

[3] *Jahrbuch*, 1901, p. 20, No. 1. Poulsen, *Orient*, Fig. 178.

ARCADIAN BRONZE STATUETTES[1]

(Plates XXIV, XXV).

During the Archaic period in Greece, many small centres were at work, producing bronze statuettes for local use. The existence of these centres has only been partially recognised and their history has still to be written. By the second quarter of the fifth century, most of them had been absorbed by the large industries, such as Argos, Corinth and Sikyon; just so, at a somewhat earlier date, the manufacture of vases in nearly all other Greek towns gave way before the vases of Athens.

The bronzes of Arcadia belong to one of the few local groups that has not been overlooked. Sections of it have come under the notice of more than one scholar,[2] though it has never been surveyed completely.

It is one of the most vital, since it began to show its independent character as early as the seventh century, and it survived the competition of such overpowering neighbours as Argos and Corinth throughout the fifth. In the sixth century it was very productive and very individual in style. It is, therefore, easy to recognise. All these points claim our interest. But the bronzes themselves, peasants carrying their sheep and calves, dressed in high hats and embroidered cloaks, gods and goddesses in the likeness of Arcadian shepherds and Arcadian girls,—these not only interest but also delight us by their naïve charm and their fitness to the Arcadian uplands from which they come.

To the early seventh century we can attribute a bronze in Berlin from

[1] I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Kastriotis and Professor Neugebauer for permission to reproduce photographs of the bronzes in Athens and Berlin respectively. No. 9 on Pl. XXIV is taken from de Ridder's *Catalogue des Bronzes de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes*, Pl. IV, and I am indebted to the publishers for permission to use it.

[2] See Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. p. 458 ff.; Kourouniotes, *Πρακτικά*, 1902, p. 74; Perdrizet, *B.C.H.*, 1903, p. 300; Kourouniotes, *'Αρχ. 'Εφ.*, 1904, p. 178 ff.; Studniczka, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1905, p. 65 ff.; Kourouniotes, *'Αρχ. 'Εφ.*, 1910, p. 301 ff.; Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, p. 39 ff.; *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, p. 65 ff.

Tegea,[1] a reversed or distorted figure having the head, arms and feet turned one way, and the middle of the body the other. A primitive *Kore* [2] with arms glued to her sides, also in Berlin, from Tegea, is too much rubbed for accurate dating, but may also be seventh century. To the late seventh or, more probably, the early sixth century belong two bronzes in Athens: the *kouros* from Bassae,[3] and the figure of a peasant from Andritsaena,[4] which has a particular importance. The peasant is short, with a large head; he wears a tunic girt at the waist, and a hat which looks like a narrow-brimmed petasos. The features are clumsily rendered, the mouth as a wide slit, the eyes as engraved circles.

This is the earliest of the bronzes which belong to the typical Arcadian style. The style was fully developed by the middle of the sixth century, and is illustrated by a number of bronzes of which the majority are in Athens or Berlin. Anyone familiar with a few examples will have no difficulty in identifying others. The chief characteristics are (1) proportions, (2) subjects.

(1) *Proportions.*—The figures are short and thick-set, with heads rather too large for the body.

(2) *Subject.*—Most of the bronzes represent shepherds and peasants; occasionally Hermes himself, the god of flocks and herds, is portrayed, in which case we can only distinguish him from his worshippers by the wings upon his boots or his cap. The bronze shepherds and peasants are dressed in a manner appropriate to their profession, in a conical leather cap, κυνῆ, or a felt hat, a πῖλος or πέτασος, a short cloak or tunic and a pair of serviceable boots. Some have discarded cloak, tunic and boots, but not the hat, which was a necessary protection against the sun. A small and distinct group appear muffled from neck to ankles in a heavy cloak, pinned at the neck with an enormous pin. Just so must the shepherds have looked when they had to face the snow which covers the Arcadian mountains for so many months. The most pleasing of all are those who come bearing offerings; a ram tucked under the arm, a calf laid across their shoulders, a dead fox carried by the tail. Evidently the figures are dedicated by pious Arcadians in their own likeness, and left to stand in the shrine of the local god or goddess, to perpetuate their

[1] No. 6405.
[2] No. 7489.
[3] *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1910, p. 301, Pl. XII.
[4] No. 12348. See p. 135 below.

devotions. We have the impression of a conventional and god-fearing folk.

Occasionally, however, the Arcadian artists were commissioned to make other subjects. Five bronzes are known to me, representing Zeus, Athena, Artemis, Apollo (?), and a female *xoanon* respectively;[1] all come from Arcadia, and are so like in style to the figures of shepherds and peasants that they can safely be attributed to the same group.

This group I will call the Main Arcadian style. A short account of the available examples of this style follows: the bronzes illustrated on Pls. XXIV, XXV are described at more length than the unillustrated examples. It will be observed that the class begins late in the seventh or early in the sixth century, and continues into the fifth. Accurate dating is rarely possible, since the Arcadian artists, perhaps because they lived in a comparatively remote district, perhaps through national obstinacy, often used devices which had been given up by their more advanced neighbours (*e.g.* the way the hair is rendered in No. 18). We frequently find, therefore, bronzes which present a mixture of early and late elements. The classification here adopted may be improved upon by other scholars, but it will serve, at any rate, to make such an important group of bronzes more accessible than it has been hitherto.

MAIN ARCADIAN STYLE.

(1) *Peasants and Shepherds.*

Primitive figure:

(1) Peasant (see p. 134). Athens, 12348. From Andritsaena. Ht. ·092 m. *B.C.H.*, 1903, p. 300, Pl. VIII.; Staïs,[2] p. 316.

Figures carrying rams:

(2) Hermes Kriophoros. Athens, 12347. From Andritsaena. Ht. ·12 m. Staïs, p. 316; *B.C.H.*, 1903, p. 301, Pl. VII.; *Revue des Études Grecques*, xviii. p. 126.

Hermes carries a ram beneath his left arm. He wears a conical hat, of which the curious adornment may be a perversion of the more usual wings. His boots are winged, and ornamented with stamped circles: the tunic has a zigzag pattern at the neck and circles at the hem. The hair is long behind, and indicated by incised lines and transverse cuts.

Date: middle of the sixth century B.C.

[1] Nos. 17–21 below.

[2] Staïs, *Marbres et Bronzes du Musée National.*

(3) Shepherd with ram. Berlin, 10781. From Mt. Lykaios.[1] Ht. ·098 m. (Fig. 1). *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, pp. 71–3, No. 16.

The shepherd wears a conical hat, and a tunic girt at the waist and adorned with zigzag pattern at the neck, and circles joined by tangents at the lower hem. He also wears boots. The right hand probably carried a stick. The hair is long behind, and shews the

No. 3. No. 26. No. 12.

FIG. 1.—ARCADIAN BRONZES IN BERLIN. (Scale 2 : 3.)

transverse cuts made by the chisel, a characteristic feature. The fleece of the ram is likewise carefully rendered. Beneath the feet is a stand, pierced with a nail-hole for attachment.[2]

Date : 550–530 B.C.

[1] For the connection of bronzes from Mt. Lykaios with the shrine of Pan Nomios, see below, p. 147. All presumably come from there, except those from the precinct of Zeus, which are distinguished in the following list. Of the bronzes from the presumed shrine of Pan at Berekla, those at Athens are recorded as coming from Berekla, those at Berlin as from the neighbouring village of Hagios Sostes.

[2] For discussion of the mounting of the statuettes, see *'Αρχ. 'Εφ.*, 1910, p. 302, with special reference to No. 18 below.

(4) Boston.[1] Ht. ·167 m. *Annual Report*, 1904, p. 57. *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, p. 72. Reinach, *Repertoire, IV*, 96. 4.

Hermes Kriophoros, wearing a petasos, and a tunic girt at the waist and edged at the neck with hatched lines and a zig-zag pattern; also elaborate boots clasped above the ankle (one foot is missing). Under the left arm is a ram; in the right hand is a hole for a staff or *kerykeion*. Exceptional treatment of front hair; usual rendering of beard and moustache with transverse cuts. The hair of the eyebrows is carefully marked, so too are the eyelids.

For the close connection of Nos. 2–4, see *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, p. 72.

(5) Hermes Kriophoros. Berlin, 30552. "From Arcadia." Ht. ·095 m. (Pl. XXIV). *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, pp. 70, 71, No. 15; *Le Musée*, v, 1908, p. 21, Fig. 4.

Hermes wears a petasos, marked on the crown with a rosette pattern. His tunic, which is ridiculously like a smock, has a zig-zag pattern at the neck; the wings on his boots are so ill preserved as to be scarcely recognisable. His right hand probably held a *kerykeion*. His ram is tucked under his left arm. Base with nail-holes for attachment.

Date: third quarter of the sixth century.

(6) Shepherd with ram. Berlin, 10782. From Mt. Lykaios. Ht. ·096 m. *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, pp. 68–9, No. 11.

He wears a conical hat and boots, and carries a very small ram. Base of two tiers with four nail-holes. Neugebauer compares the style to No. 10.

These six statuettes help us to visualise the statue made many years later by Onatas of Aegina and Kalliteles for the Arcadians of Pheneos. The statue represented Hermes and is described by Pausanias (v. 27. 8) as follows:—*Ἑρμῆς ὁ τὸν κριὸν φέρων ὑπὸ τῇ μασχάλῃ καὶ ἐπικείμενος τῇ κεφαλῇ κυνῆν, καὶ χιτῶνά τε καὶ χλαμύδα ἐνδεδυκώς . . . ὑπό . . . Ἀρκάδων ἐκ Φενεοῦ δέδοται τῷ θεῷ.*

Evidently it was dressed in the same fashion as the bronzes—chlamys, chiton, *κυνῆ*—and like them carried the ram, not across the shoulders but under the arm. No doubt the Arcadians insisted that the famous artist whom they commissioned to make their statue should make it after the approved and traditional pattern.

Other peasants and shepherds:

(7) Peasant. Athens, 13062. From Mt. Lykaios. Ht. *c.* ·13 m. Staïs, p. 313; *Πρακτικά*, 1902, p. 74.

A figure of inferior execution wearing *κυνῆ* or *πέτασος*. Usual base.

[1] The second statuette of Hermes in Boston, Reinach, *Repertoire IV*, 96. 3, is archaistic.

(8) Moschophoros. Athens, 13053. From Mt. Lykaios. Ht. *c.* ·115 m. (Pl. XXIV). Staïs, pp. 311, 312; Πρακτικά, 1902, p. 74.

A herdsman in a conical hat, a tunic girt at the waist, adorned with zigzags, and boots, stands on a square base. He carries a calf across his shoulders. His hair, moustache and beard are rendered by engraved lines.

Date: 540–520 B.C.

(9) Hermes. Athens, 7539. From Ithome. Ht. *c.* ·097 m. (feet missing) (Pl. XXIV). Staïs, p. 313; de Ridder,[1] No. 832, Pl. IV.

He wears a petasos and a tunic adorned with zigzags at the neck and circles joined by tangents at the hem; his boots are winged. Remains of attribute in right hand.

Date: 540–520 B.C.

(10) Shepherd dedicated by Pauleas. New York, No. 58. From near Andritsaena. Ht. ·101 m. For bibliography see Richter, *Catalogue*, p. 39. See also *Ath. Mitt.*, 1905, p. 65 ff., and Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, p. 40, Pl. XXII.

The shepherd wears a conical cap and a fringed cloak with tassels at the corners. On the base, which is of the usual type, is an inscription: Φαυλέας ἀνέθυσε τῷ Πανί.

Date: last quarter of the sixth century.

(11) Peasant praying. Berlin, 10780. From Mt. Lykaios. Ht. ·091 m. Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIII, pp. 42, 129; *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, p. 73, No. 17.

In the right hand is the remains of an offering, probably an animal. The peasant, naked save for a hat, raises one hand in adoration.

Date: shortly after 500 B.C.

(12) Little man with fox. Berlin, 10784. From Mt. Lykaios. Ht. ·067 m. (Figs. 1 and 2). *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, p. 69, No. 13.

The peasant wears the usual hat, and a chlamys with a fringe. His right hand may have held a stick: his left grasps by the tail a dead fox. His whole bearing indicates satisfaction at the choiceness of his gift, and his back view (Fig. 2) is particularly expressive. The eyes are hollowed, and the base pierced for nails.

Date: about 500 B.C.

Peasants in cloaks:

These form a compact and very characteristic group. All wear a conical hat and cloak; the latter is usually pinned at the neck with a large pin.[2]

(13) Athens, 13060. From Mt. Lykaios. Ht. ·085 m. (feet missing) (Pl. XXIV). Πρακτικά, 1902, p. 74; Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1910, p. 327, Fig. 51; Staïs, p. 311.

[1] De Ridder, *Catalogue des Bronzes de la Soc. Arch. d'Athènes.*

[2] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1905, p. 68 ff., Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1910, p. 327.

This is the most careful of the series, and the only one where the mantle does not fall to the feet. Notice the folds at the neck, which give the effect of a collar: they shew at the back as a series of horizontal wrinkles. The rendering of the arms beneath the drapery is good: so is the contrast between hair and beard.

Date: 520–500 B.C.

(14) Athens, 13059. From Mt. Lykaios. Ht. ·053 m. (Pl. XXIV).

Miniature figure with hat, cloak and pin. Probably the gift of a very poor man.

FIG. 2.—No. 12. (Scale 1 : 1.)

(15) Berlin, 10786. From Mt. Lykaios. Ht. ·117 m. (Pl. XXIV). *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, p. 69, No. 12; Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, p. 41, Pl. XXIV.

Figure in hat and cloak,[1] with bronze tangs beneath the feet where the metal was poured into the mould.

Last quarter of the sixth century.

(16) Athens, 13057. From Mt. Lykaios. Ht. ·077 m. Πρακτικά, 1902, p. 74. Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1910, p. 327. Staïs, p. 111.

This bronze is considerably later than the rest of the group[2] and belongs to the early fifth century.

[1] Neugebauer, *Arch. Anz.*, *loc. cit.*, cites as a parallel a figure from Messenia.

[2] An interesting bronze belonging to this series is in a private collection in Germany.

(2) *Other Subjects.*

(17) Zeus with thunderbolt and eagle. Athens, 12306. From Mt. Lykaios (precinct of Zeus). Ht. ·10 m. Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1904, p. 180 ff., Figs. 8–10; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. p. 84, Fig. 51, and Casson, *J.H.S.*, 1922, p. 212, Fig. 5.

The figure has the Arcadian proportions, and is very primitive in style. Kourouniotes attributes it to the seventh century. I am inclined to think it somewhat later and to date it in the first quarter of the sixth.

FIG. 3.—NO. 20. ARTEMIS FROM LUSOI. (Scale *c.* 1 : 2.)

(18) Youth with cock. Apollo (?). Athens, 13056. From Mt. Lykaios. Staïs, p. 312; Πρακτικά, 1902, p. 74; Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1910, p. 302, Fig. 19.

The rayed or feathered headdress is curious: space does not permit a discussion of its significance. The position of the legs, less stiff than in most of the bronzes described above, suggests a date about 500: the transverse cuts on the hair are a link with the early figures: the flat almond-shaped eyes are characteristic.

The following figures are similar in style to Nos. 1–18, though the nature of the subjects produces minor differences.

(19) Athena. Athens, 14828. From Tegea. Πρακτικά, 1911, pp. 61, 300; *A.J.A.*, 1911, p. 420, Figs. 3–4.

Athena is heavily armed. The bronze is probably influenced by the cult statue of Athena Alea, and may even reflect the statue by Endoios as seen through the eyes of a local artist.

Date: last quarter of the sixth century.

(20) Artemis. From Lusoi. In Paris (?). Ht. ·132 m. (Fig. 3). *Jahreshefte*, 1901, p. 34, Figs. 20–22; Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. p. 461 ff.

Artemis is dressed like an Arcadian girl on a holiday, in a chiton with folds at the back and sides; a shawl (χλανίς or χλανίδιον) fastened so that one point hangs down in front, and weighted with tassels; and a necklace of large beads. The beads are indicated by engraved circles, and the circles are repeated on the front of the base. The hair is neatly bobbed, in the true Peloponnesian fashion. A protuberance on the skirt in front may be meant to show that the left knee was bent, though, if this is so, the feet should not have been level. A fragment of a sixth-century statue from the same site shews drapery with folds similar to these on the drapery of the bronze.[1]

Date: last quarter of the sixth century.

(21) Female *xoanon*. Athens, 7409. From Astala, near Lykosoura. Ht. ·106 m. *B.C.H.*, 1900, p. 11, No. 6; Staïs, p. 307.

Late sixth or early fifth century?

Compare the *xoanon* from Mt. Lykaios,[2] Athens, 13058, which may be imported, and belongs to the middle of the sixth century.

OTHER ARCADIAN STYLES.

Kouroi and Shepherds.

Another style is represented by two bronzes in Berlin, Nos. 25 and 26 below. Although of Arcadian manufacture, they are tall and slender instead of being short and stumpy. The subjects and the costume (or its absence in the case of No. 25) are typically Arcadian; so too are such details as the treatment of the hair on No. 25, the almond-shaped eyes and the pattern on the cloak of No. 26.

I think it is probable that these bronzes owed their more naturalistic proportions to the influence of figures of the Kouros type. Naked youths —Kouroi—were so common a subject that even an Arcadian could not fail to treat it in a more or less conventional way.

(22) Kouros. At Athens. From Bassae. Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1910, p. 301, Pl. XII.

Early sixth century.

[1] *Jahreshefte*, 1901, p. 35, Fig. 23.

[2] Staïs, pp. 317–318.

(22*a*) Kouros. Berlin, 10779. From Mt. Lykaios. Ht. ·116 m. (Pl. XXV). *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, pp. 65–67, No. 8.

Notice the Arcadian treatment of the features, especially of the eyes and mouth, also the rendering of the muscles on the chest.

Date: first half of the sixth century.

Less typically Arcadian are the two following Kouroi:—

(23) Kouros. Berlin, 10778. From Mt. Lykaios. Ht. ·145 m. *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, pp. 67–8, No. 9.

(24) Kouros. Louvre, 102. *Catalogue* Pl. XII. From Kleitor. Ht. ·134 m.

(25) Shepherd with ram. Berlin, 10783. From Mt. Lykaios. Ht. ·085 m. *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, p. 68, No. 10.

He wears nothing but a conical cap. The base is of the usual type.

(26) Peasant. Berlin, 10785. From Hagios Sostes. Ht. ·119 m. (Fig. 1). *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, p. 70, No. 14.

He is represented carrying a *phiale* and wearing a conical hat, boots and a cloak. The semicircles engraved on the cloak look like hair: the garment was probably made of skins sewn together or pieces of felt. This is particularly noticeable behind. The figure must belong to the end of the sixth century.

ISOLATED FIGURES.

Of the figures about to be described, the Demeter is certainly of local origin, the Athena probably so. The Zeus, on the other hand, has many alien features and was obviously made elsewhere. To the category of isolated figures we should add the well-known statuette by Hybrisstas, which, though found near Epidauros, is assigned to Arcadia by most scholars.[1]

(27) Goddess, on throne with footstool. Athens, 14922. From Tegea. Ht. *c.* ·10 m. (Pl. XXV).

This is perhaps the finest of all the bronzes made in Arcadia. It represents Demeter or Kore, both of whom were worshipped at Tegea, under the name of Καρποφόροι.[2] Our goddess carries two fruits, one a pomegranate, the other probably a quince. The dress is of the Doric type, with sleeves and ἀπόπτυγμα. There is a wreath on the hair, which is gathered into a knot where it falls down the back. The ribbon, which should have bound it, has been forgotten.

The features prove that the statuette belongs to the Arcadian group; the eyes, prominent and almost lidless, are especially characteristic.

[1] Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, p. 50, Pl. XXVII; Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. p. 467: for other references, see Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[2] Pausanias, viii. 53. 7.

(28) Athena. B.M., 1922, 11–15–1. The right arm is raised and originally held a spear. Heavy features, not specially Arcadian in type.

Date: 540–520 B.C.

(29) Zeus Lykaios. Athens, 13209. From Mt. Lykaios (precinct of Zeus). Ht. ·102 m. (Pl. XXV). 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1904, p. 185, Figs. 12–14; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. p. 86, Fig. 55. *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1906, XIX, p. 170 f.

Zeus is seated, with his feet on a footstool. He wears a chiton and himation: in one hand he holds a thunderbolt (broken), in the other an object recalling the Roman *lituus*, which may be a sceptre derived from a branch of the sacred tree (Cook, *loc. cit.*). The features are not those we associate with Peloponnesian artists; the nearest parallel in Arcadia is the *xoanon*, Athens, No. 13058. The chiselling of the hair, though associated with bronzes of the class under discussion, is fairly common at the period. On the other hand, the little circular weight, which hangs at the end of the himation behind, looks like local work. For parallels on the Cyrenaic cups, see Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 92 ff.

Date: 550–530 B.C.

To this list of bronzes from Arcadia, which does not claim to be exhaustive, I should add Athens 7404 from Piana,[1] and the soldier, Athens 7644, from Lykosoura.[2] To Arcadian artists I would attribute Athens 7546 from Achaia, and Berlin 6397 of unknown provenance.[3]

THE FIFTH-CENTURY ARCADIAN GROUP

There is a second chapter in the history of Arcadian art which comprises bronzes of definitely fifth-century type. Some of the examples discussed in the last section were made in the fifth century, but all belong to the sixth-century tradition. The bronzes which will now be described reflect those motives which the leading fifth-century artists had discovered and popularised, but each of the bronzes advertises its Arcadian origin by some distinctive feature.[4]

[1] Staïs, p. 322; *B.C.H.*, 1900, p. 6, No. 2.

[2] Staïs, p. 308; de Ridder, *op. cit.*, No. 858.

[3] The well-known rider from between Sparta and Megalopolis (de Ridder, *op. cit.*, No. 860) has no special claim to be Arcadian.

[4] The list is not exhaustive. Bronzes such as Athens 13757 (*'Αρχ. 'Εφ.*, 1904, p. 185, Fig. 11), Zeus, *c.* 500 B.C., which have few distinctive features, and Athens 12349 (*B.C.H.*, 1903, Pl. IX), which is not typically Arcadian, are omitted. The descriptions are less full than those in the previous section.

(30) Zeus standing, draped in himation and carrying thunderbolt. At Athens. From Mt. Lykaios (precinct of Zeus). Ht. ·098 m. Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1904, pp. 192, 193, Fig. 15. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 88, Fig. 56.

Rough work: the figure short and thick.

(31) Hermes. Athens, 13219. From Mt. Lykaios (precinct of Zeus). Ht. (without base) ·125 m. Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1904, p. 196 ff., Pl. IX; Staïs, pp. 317, 320.

This is one of the most interesting of the fifth-century bronzes, since it is the descendant of figures like Nos. 25 and 26. It has the same slender proportions: the costume is the traditional chlamys, chiton and κυνῆ. Both knees are slightly bent: the artist was obviously trying to copy those figures where the weight is on one leg only, but, misunderstanding his model, he has made both legs bent instead of one. Beneath the feet are the remains of the lead which once attached the figure to the mount.

Date: 470–460 B.C.

(32) Youth with patera. Athens, 13061. From Mt. Lykaios. Staïs, pp. 313, 314.

The traditional short thick proportions, though the head is small.

(33) Youth with cock. Athens, 7408. Acquired at Megalopolis. *B.C.H.*, 1900, p. 8, No. 3; Staïs, p. 320. Proportions as No. 32.

(34) Apollo, with bow. From Lusoi. The statuette was in a private collection in Paris when published by Furtwängler in 1899. Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften*, II. p. 458, Figs. 2, 3.[1]

The god stands with the weight on the left foot, but the artist has forgotten to make the corresponding shoulder higher. Nevertheless, the bronze is good work and reflects the traditions of the Argive school: the features, however, suggest the local origin.

Inscribed: Τᾶς Ἀρτάμιτος ἀποβώμιον τᾶς Ἡμέρας.

Date: *c.* 480–70 B.C.

(34*a*) Zeus hurling thunderbolt. Louvre, 129. From Andritsaena. Ht. ·097. De Ridder, *Bronzes du Louvre*, Pl. XIV.

The treatment of hair and features has a certain resemblance to that of No. 36.

The female figures form a very distinct group.

(35) Artemis. Berlin, 7644. From Kalavryta (therefore probably from Lusoi). Ht. ·131 m. (without base) (Pl. XXV). Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften*, II. p. 465, Figs. 6, 7.

Artemis carries a torch,[2] and a poppy-seed. Like the earlier

[1] Furtwängler does not give scale or proportions.

[2] Professor Neugebauer tells me the torch is antique in spite of the fact that its patina is different from that of the rest of the statuette.

Artemis, No. 20, she has short hair. The features are distinctive, particularly the long nose, straight mouth and flat almond-shaped eyes.

Date: second quarter of the fifth century.

(36) Goddess with phiale. Athens, 7605. From Tegea. Ht. ·106 m. (Pl. XXV). Staïs, p. 322; Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 466; De Ridder, *Catalogue* No. 881 (where full references are given).

This statuette is remarkably like No. 35 except in the rendering of the hair.

Date: second quarter of the fifth century.

(37) Female figure. From Kalavryta. Present whereabouts unknown. Ht. ·165 m. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 466, Fig. 8.

Short hair: typically Arcadian features.

Date: second quarter of the fifth century.

(38) Female figure (Artemis holding (?) poppy-seed). Athens, 7565. From Tegea. Ht. ·096 m. Staïs, p. 322; De Ridder, *Catalogue* No. 885 (where full references are given).

This dainty little statuette belongs to the second half of the fifth century, but in spite of the freedom of pose, the provincial artist has betrayed himself by the distorted position of the feet. The back is carefully worked. The deep, regular cutting of the hair is characteristic of Arcadian work in the two last quarters of the century, *e.g.* Nos. 39, 40, 43.

Certain male figures from the second half of the century and these animals of earlier date conclude our list. The statue of Pan, in Berlin, from Lusoi,[1] one of the most beautiful of all fifth-century bronzes, is not included, since it has no decisive marks of local origin, and is, moreover, well known.

Male figures:

(39) Hermes. At Athens. From Mt. Lykaios (precinct of Zeus). Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1904, Figs. 21, 22, pp. 201, 202.

(40) Hermes. At Athens. From Mt. Lykaios (precinct of Zeus). Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1904, Fig. 20, p. 200.

(41) Youth in petasos and chlamys. From Mt. Lykaios (precinct of Zeus). Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1904, Fig. 23, Pl. X, p. 203 ff.

Late fifth or early fourth century.

Animals:

(42) Dead fox, hung up by the forepaws. Athens, 13054. From Mt. Lykaios. Staïs, p. 317.

This belongs to the beginning of the century.

[1] Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, Pl. 39, pp. 74, 75; *Arch. Anz.*, 1904, pp. 34, 35.

(43) Eagle. At Athens. From Mt. Lykaios (precinct of Zeus). *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1904, pp. 195, 196, Figs. 18 and 19.

The feathers are rendered by deep regular cuts: the effect is decorative and pleasing.

Whereas the history of most of the Greek bronze industries is so obscure that we have only occasional glimpses of their activities, that of Arcadia can be traced for over two hundred years. Nevertheless we must beware of using it to reconstruct the history of any other district: the Arcadian industry was in some ways unique, just as its bronzes have more idiosyncrasies than the average Greek bronzes of the fifth and sixth centuries.

It differed from its neighbours, in the first place, by keeping up the custom of dedicating votive bronzes throughout the fifth century. Most of the Greek shrines, after the Persian wars, gradually abandoned the practice: the bronzes diminish and then disappear. In Arcadia they are almost as numerous then as ever, another proof of the conservatism of the Arcadian people. The result was that the bronze-workers were still able to do a flourishing trade.

In the second place, Arcadia was more successful than most countries in supplying its own needs. The imported bronzes are, as we have seen (p. 143), remarkably few. One is tempted to attribute their rarity, not to chance, nor to the absence of foreign pilgrims, but to a deliberate protection of the industry: this, however, is perhaps too fanciful a suggestion.

One problem remains: the discovery of the workshops where the bronzes were made. It should be possible to make some inference from what we know of ancient Arcadia, and of the sites where bronzes have been found.

Concerning the sites, we have, fortunately, full accounts from the excavations which took place at the beginning of the century.[1] These shew that nearly 75 per cent. of the bronzes come from a small district in the south-west of Arcadia, the country round Mount Lykaios. Of those marked as coming from Mt. Lykaios, some were unearthed in the precinct of Zeus Lykaios,[2] but the majority at Berekla, the probable site of the

[1] *Πρακτικά*, 1902, pp. 22, 72; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1903, p. 151; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1904, p. 153; *Πρακτικά*, 1909, pp. 64, 185, 300; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1910, p. 271.

[2] *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1904, *loc. cit.*

sanctuary of Pan described by Pausanias.[1] Bassae and Lykosoura, not far away, have produced three of the bronzes mentioned above.[2] Any bronzes from Andritsaena or Megalopolis must have been brought there by peasants from one of the above-mentioned sites.

Only a small percentage of the bronzes come from Tegea. The northern part of Arcadia is represented by the bronzes from Kleitor and Lusoi: the last-named site must be the home of bronzes from the town of Kalavryta. Most of these northern bronzes belong, however, to the fifth century.

The natural inference from the finds is that our earlier bronzes were made somewhere in the neighbourhood of Mount Lykaios. Unluckily we know too little of the small towns and villages in that district to make any suggestion as to which, if any of them, could have been the centre of a bronze industry.

It is, on the other hand, not improbable that many of the bronzes found in the south-west come from some larger town like Tegea.

Tegea has a strong claim to be the centre which produced the fifth-century bronzes and the seated goddess, No. 27. Nos. 35–37 are obviously from the same workshop, and appear to be descendants of No. 27. No. 38 shews the same style, further advanced, and forms a link with Nos. 39, 40. If we admit that this group may have been made at Tegea, we must accept the possibility of some of the earlier bronzes having been made there also. The town was admirably situated for manufacture and trade, since it was on the main road from Argos to Sparta. By that road, the Arcadian Zeus of Hybrisstas may have gone north to Epidauros, and the influence of the central Peloponnesian style penetrated far enough south into Lakonia to affect the warrior dedicated by Karmos at Selinos.[3]

It is also possible that more than one centre was at work in Arcadia. This would partly account for the minor differences of style which underlie the general similarity of the statuettes. One subdivision, including Nos. 2–4, has already been pointed out by Neugebauer.[4]

Another subdivision might be suggested by the difference between bronzes with prominent eyes and eyelids scarcely marked, such as Nos.

[1] viii. 38. 5. See p. 136, note.

[2] Nos. 21, 22, and Athens 7644 (p. 143).

[3] Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXI. p. 38. The Hermes from Ithome, No. 9, shews that Arcadian bronzes were exported, as we should expect, to Messenia.

[4] P. 137, *vs* No. 4.

11, 13, 22*a*, 26, 27, 35, 36, and bronzes with eyelids carefully modelled, such as Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 31.

The evidence is, however, not sufficient to justify any definite conclusions. The question of the origin of the statuettes must wait till further exploration of Arcadian sites has added information and material.

WINIFRED LAMB.

Note.—This paper was written before the publication of Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschalen.*

A STATUETTE IN PRIVATE POSSESSION

THE statuette represented in the accompanying photograph is about 37·6 cm. in height. The left leg is broken off above the knee, and supported on a prop which forms part of the base. The right leg is only roughly chiselled at the back, which suggests that the front side alone was visible in the position in which the statuette was originally placed. The nature of the object on the right shoulder is uncertain. The upper portion is like a kind of boss, and the lower front portion resembles an animal's claw. It has been suggested that it represents a pedum; but the angle at which the missing portion (if there has been a fracture, which is not certain) would project puts some difficulty in the way of this hypothesis. If, however, the object on the shoulder was part of an animal's skin extended across the breast, all traces of that have disappeared; though in a spot over the right ribs the marble has been shaved away to a flat surface, against which some object may have rested. There are three similar shaved spots in other parts of the body: behind each shoulder-blade and on the nates, and these may well indicate the places at which the statuette touched a wall. The position of the shaved spots behind the shoulder-blades does not suggest that they were the starting-points of wings. A small portion of lead piping is inserted under the left arm in the back of the mask—apparently a Comic one—carried in the left hand. The marble is of a rough crystalline character, probably Parian or Naxian. In the absence of the head and of all certain attributes it is difficult to say whether the statuette represents an Eros or a Satyr. The first century B.C. has been suggested as its date, and it seems to bear some resemblance in pose to the Chiaramonti figure of Odysseus, which is considered by Dickins (*Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 50) to be typically Rhodian in movement and action. The support at the right side of the present statuette is of marble, and seems to be original. The base, not shewn in the photograph, is of rough sandstone, 11·5 cm. in height. All

that is known of the provenance of the statuette is that it was purchased in 1925 from a dealer in antiques who had recently acquired it at one of Messrs. Stevens' auctions; and that the vendor on that occasion had

FIG. 1.—STATUETTE IN POSSESSION OF MR. H. W. LAW.

purchased it some years before at the sale of the effects of a dealer in Bishop's Road, Paddington. The vicinity of that street to the favourite quarter of Greek residents in London suggests that the statuette may at some time have belonged to one of them.

H. W. LAW.

SOME NEW SPECIMENS OF BYZANTINE MUSIC.

(Plate XXVI.)

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§ 1. A Canon for Advent.

As an illustration from a good manuscript in the Round Notation I have chosen a Canon[1] of which I can present a reproduction from my own photographs. It is in the First Authentic Mode, and belongs to the Sunday before Christmas (fourth in Advent). This Canon does not find a place in the service-books now in use, but the words are in the printed Hirmologus.[2] As poetry they are neither better nor worse than the ordinary run of Byzantine Canons.

[1] The structure of the Canon has been fully explained by Neale and by W. Christ and M. Paranikas. Here only a summary of the information will be needed. A Canon theoretically consists of nine odes, based upon the nine chief canticles (eight from the Old Testament, and the Magnificat), which were, as we should say, regarded as canonical. Each ode has two or more verses in the same metre, the first verse being called the Hirmus, and setting the type for the others. As each ode corresponded to one of the canticles, it was expected to contain some allusion to the same subject, or, at any rate, a reminiscence of its style. Further, a special verse in honour of the Virgin Mary might form the conclusion of every ode. The nine canonical canticles were the following :—(1) Miriam's Song (Ex. xv.); (2) Moses' Exhortation (Deut. xxxii.); (3) Hannah (Sam. ii.); (4) Habakkuk (Hab. iii.); (5) Isaiah (Is. xxvi.); (6) Jonah (J. iii.); (7) Daniel; (8) Song of the Three Children (Dan. iii.); (9) Magnificat. Both the passages from Daniel are in the Apocryphal portion. The second ode was only used in Lent; and therefore a good many Canons, like the present, have no second ode. The references to the Canticles are often rather perfunctory.

[2] In Greek usually called *εἱρμολόγιον*. Sometimes the name used instead of *εἱρμός* is *καταβασία* (*i.e.* an ode sung by both choirs together in the middle of the church), but the contents are the same.

Our text is from the Hirmologus, Cryptoferratensis E. γ. II, date about 1280.[1] Our facsimiles contain another Hirmus coming before the Advent Canon, namely, the last ode of the Canon, ᾠδὴν ἐπινίκιον ᾄσωμεν πάντες,[2] likewise in the First Authentic Mode.

Translations. Canon ᾠδὴν ἐπινίκιον, last ode: 'Let us all magnify the light-bringing Cloud, by whom the Lord of all, like rain from heaven upon a fleece of wool, came down; and for our sake was made flesh and became man, though He was from everlasting—let us magnify her, the Holy Mother of our God.'

THE ADVENT CANON.[3]

ODE I. 'Christ is born as a babe in the city of Bethlehem, renewing our nature in His mercy. Come hither right willingly, ye sons of earth: let us sing in our hearts the minstrel's song unto the Lord through the ages; for He hath triumphed gloriously.'

ODE III. '"Ruler in the highest, uncreated, gracious Word, behold and regard me": thus with tears cried Hannah of old unceasingly unto Thee. But as Thou heardest her lamentation, even so confirm our hearts, O King, that we may worthily sing of Thy Nativity.'

ODE IV. The version in our MS. is given in the printed Hirmologus, but not under this Canon.

'Habakkuk, foreseeing, O Word, Thy glorious presence from on high, cried, "I have heard, O Lord, that Thou shalt come forth from an Holy Mount unto the salvation of mortal men; and being filled with fear I cry: O Christ, how great are the works of Thy glory!"'

The printed Hirmologus has for our Canon:

'When the prophet heard the report of Thee, O Christ, he was afraid because Thou shouldst be born of a Virgin; and trembling he cried, "Glory be to Thy might, O Lord."'

ODE V. 'O Thou that seest all, Thou glory of princes, what son of earth shall not wonder at Thy loving-kindness! For Thou wast seen on earth, not

[1] I have pleasure in again thanking the Rev. Fr. Abbot, and also the Librarian and the Precentor of the Monastery of Grottaferrata, for much kind help and for facilities, most generously afforded, for study of their MSS.; and, fourthly, the Governors of the Hort Fund, for a grant in aid of my research.

[2] Riemann, *Byz. Not.*, p. 81, has two versions of this Canon in different types of the 'Linear' Neumes, from facsimiles. All readings of these systems are conjectural at present. Riemann also gives a facsimile of two pages of our codex. I have discussed his transcriptions in *B.S.A.*, xxi. 138. (The words in the printed Hirmologus differ slightly.)

[3] In the Greek text and in the numbering of the lines I have usually followed the printed Hirmologus, published by I. Nicolaides, Athens, 1906. Our MS. differs in a few trifling instances.

leaving the Father's side, renewing all creation this day, and alone, as Prince of Peace, dispensing peace.'

ODE VI. 'Unhappy Nature, O Christ my Saviour, having fallen long ago into the abyss of destruction, lay, alas, in the depths of gloom. But since by Thy divine power she hath risen again unto the fairest delights of heaven, I will sacrifice unto Thee (she crieth) the sacrifice of praise, O Saviour.' [1]

ODE VII. 'Like the Children of old we cry unto Thee, O Word: Be Thou the guard and shield of Thy servants, O Saviour, and deliver them from all the assaults of the foe, that we may sing unto Thee on Thy [2] Nativity, and say for ever "Blessed art Thou."'

ODE VIII. 'Restorer and Saviour of the whole world, all creation with the angels singeth unto Thee. She leapeth, danceth and rejoiceth with trembling, saying, "All ye works of the Lord, with longing desire, bless with us unto all ages the holy Nativity of my Redeemer."'

ODE IX. 'Hail, Mary, Holy Vessel of God: Hail, pure Support of the fallen! By thee to-day hath the Lord become visible: O wonder of the Virgin, recreating sinners and leading them up unto the eternal light!'

BYZANTINE NEUMES IN TYPE.

By the enterprise of the Cambridge University Press we are shewing the results of an experiment in the printing of Byzantine music. Collections of old shorthand and other miscellaneous characters have been ransacked to find shapes as like as possible to the neumes. Only two or three new types are needed. Although we cannot vie with the impressive appearance of such a book as Rebours' *Traité de Psaltique*, for which a special fount of Chrysanthine symbols was used, yet our specimens will be readily understood by anyone familiar with the manuscripts, and will be more legible as well as compacter than an engraved reproduction. The photographic facsimile (Pl. XXVI) goes as far as the middle of Ode V., the rest is given in type.

[1] Cf. Jonah, chapter ii. ver. 3 and ver. 9.

[2] In order to preserve the division of notes I have omitted ἐν, which appears in the printed version. For the same reason omit Τοὺς in Ode VIII, l. 5.

ᾠδὴ ε΄.

. . . εγ - - και - - νι - - ζων την κτι - σιν και ει - ρη - νην ως

μο - νος ει - ρην - αρ - - χης. βρα - - βευ - ων.

ᾠδὴ ς΄.

(1) Εις βυ - θον α - πο - λει - ας (2) η τα - λαι - πω - ρος φυ -

σις (3) Χρισ - τε μου Λο - γε. . κατ - - αν - - τη - - σα - σα πα -

λαι (4) εκ - ει - το φε - ευ . μοι - οι - οι . . σκο - - τει - - νοις .

εν κευθ - μω - σιν (5) ε - - πει - ει δε τῃ σῃ θε - ι - κῃ

δυ - - νασ - - τει - ᾳ (6) προς ου - ρα - νου . . μετ - ηχ - θην . . τα

τερπ - νο - τα - τα . . κα - - λη (7) θυ - σω . σοι σω - τερ βο -

ᾳ . . . θυ - σι - αν αι - νε - σε - ως.

ᾠδὴ ζ΄.

(1) Ως οι παι - δες πα - λαι σοι κρα - ζο - μεν. Λο - γε (2) γε -

νου σων δου - λων (3) Σω - τερ φυ - - λαξ και σκε - πη (4) και

σω - σον πα - α - ντα - α - ας. προσ - βο - - λης.. εν - αν - τι - ας

(5) ο - - πως υμ - νουν - - τες σε σοις γε - νεθ - - λι - οις (6) εις

αι - ω - να.. λε - γω - μεν (7) ευ - λο - γη - τος ει.

ᾠδὴ η'.

(1) Νε - ουρ - γε του συμ - παν - τος κοσ - μου . . και σω - τερ

(2) υμ - - νει σε πα - - σα . . μετ αγ - γε - λων η κτι - σις

(3) σκιρ - τᾳ χο - ρε - ευ - - ει - ει - ει . . και α - - γαλ - - λε -

ται τρο - μῳ - ῳ . . (4) ευ - λο - γει - τε λε - γου - σα παν - τα

τα ερ - γα . . . τα σεπ - τα γε - νεθ - λι - α του λυ -

τρω - του μου (5) συν η - μιν εις αι - - ω - νας πο - θῳ υπ -

ερ - - υ - ψου - τε.

ᾠδὴ θ'.

(1) Χαι - ροις παν - - αγ - - νε θε - ο - δεγ - μον Μα - ρι - - α

(2) χαι - ροις α - χραν - τε (3) των πεπ - τω - κο - των βα - σις

(4) εν σοι γαρ ω - ωφ - - θη - η - η . . ση - με - ρον ο δεσ - πο -

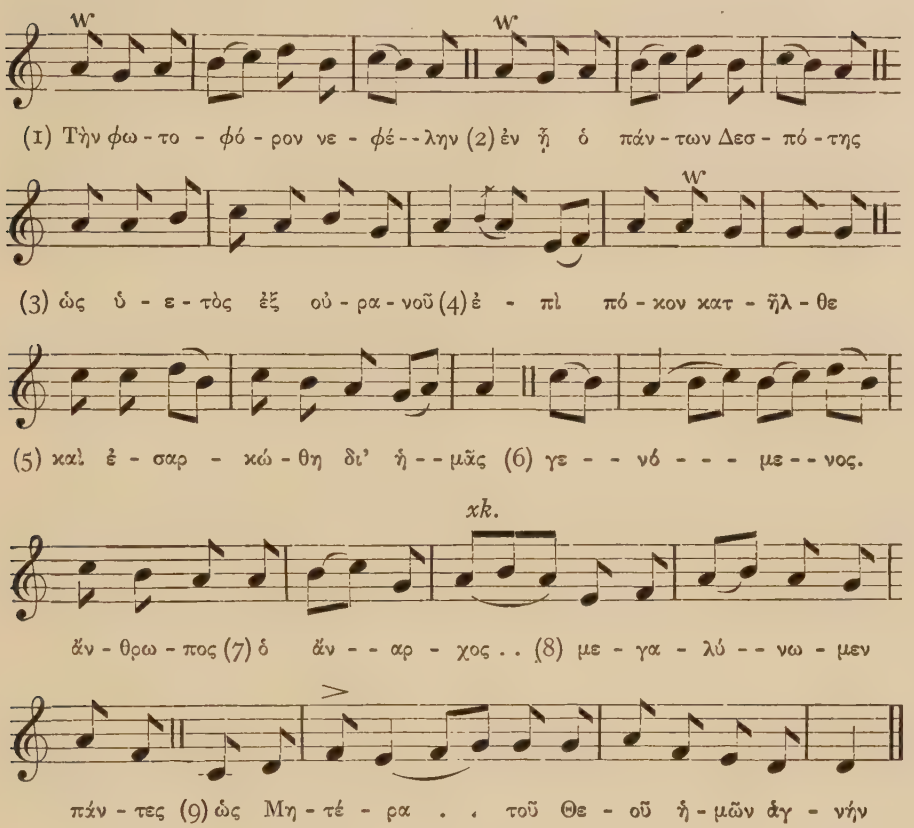
της. (5) ω θα - αυ - - μα-α - - α. (6) και - νουρ - - γουν τους

φθα - ρεν - τας (7) και προς φως επ - - αν - α - γον (8) το

αν - εσ - πε - ρον κο - ρη.

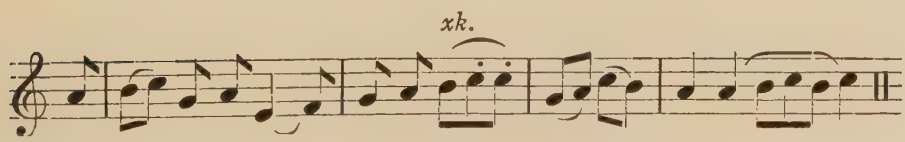
Key to printed Neumes. Oligon-Hypsele — ascending fifth.—Kratema prolonged accented note.—Xeron Klasma mezzo-staccato.—Kratemohyporrhoon two descending seconds with prolongation of the foregoing note.—Apoderma pause. The remainder will be easily understood.

Canon ᾠδὴν ἐπινίκιον, Ode IX, Mode I.
Cod. Cryptoferr. E, γ. II, f. 7b.

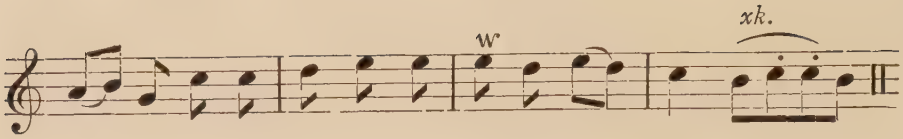


Canon for the Sunday before Christmas. Mode I.
Cod. Cryptoferr. E. γ. II, f. 7b—f. 9 (Pl. XXVI).

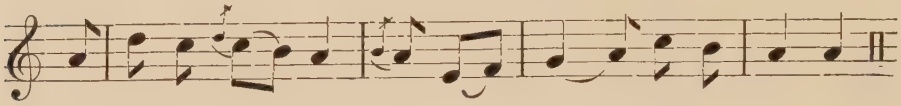
ODE I.



xk. = Xeron Klasma = mezzo-staccato.

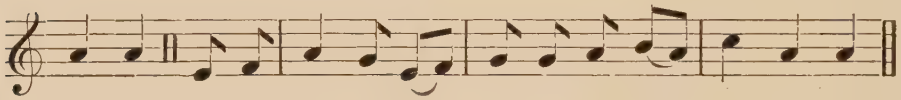


(2) τὴν . ἡ - μῶν ὡς εὔ-σπλαγχ-νος (3) και-νουρ - γῶν . φύ - σιν . . .



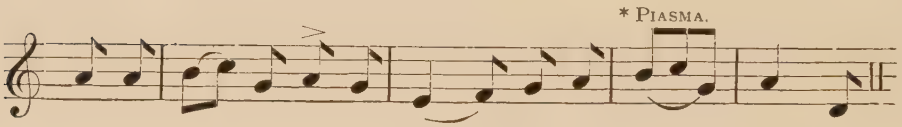
(4) προ - θύ - μως δεῦ - - τε γη - γε - - νεῖς. (5) τῇ καρ - δί - ᾳ

(6) ᾇσ - μα με - λῳ - δοῦ . . . . . (7) ᾄ - σω - - μεν . τῷ Δεσ-

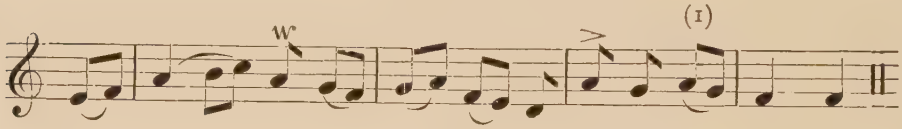


πό - τη εἰς αἰ - ῶ - νας (8) ἐν - - δόξ - ως γὰρ δε - - δόξ - ασ - ται.

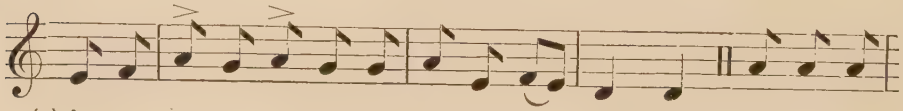
ODE III.



(1) Ὑψ - ι - μέ - δων ἄν - αρ - χε . (2) εὐ - με - νὲς . . . Λό - γε

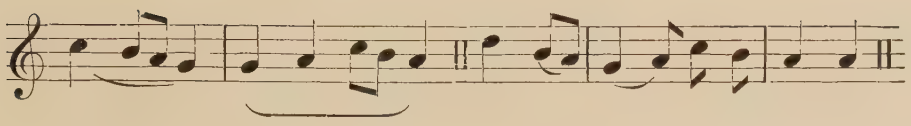


(3) ἐ - - πί - - - βλε - ψον . πρόσ - - χες . μοι (4) δα-κρυρ - ρο - - οῦ - σα

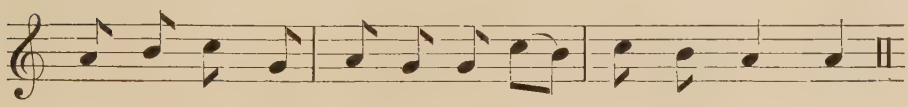


(5) ἐκ - τε - νῶς ἐ - βό - α σοι (6) πρό - πα - λαι. Ἄν - να . (7) ἀλλ' ὡς ἐ .

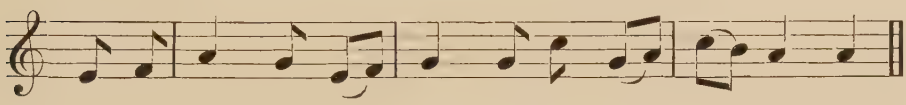
[1] Bareia, Klasma, Oligon, Apostrophus—clear in MS.



κεί - - - - νης . . . . ἤ - κου - σας . θρη - νῳ - δού - σης

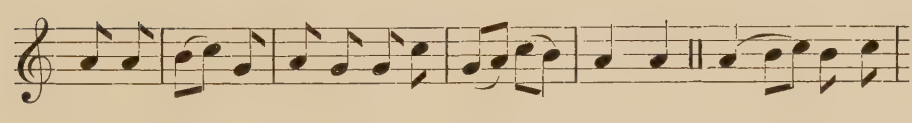


(8) καὶ ἡ - μῶν στε - ρέ - ω - σον τὰς φρέ - νας , Ἄν - αξ

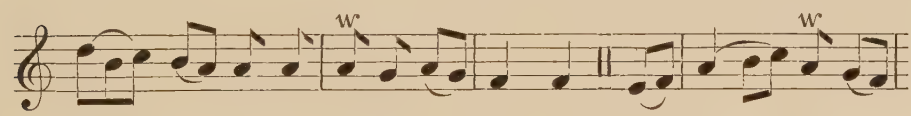


(9) τοῦ ἀξ - ί - ως ὑμ - - νεῖν σου τὰ γε - - νέθ - - λι - α.

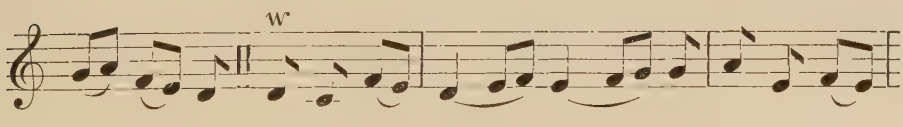
ODE IV.



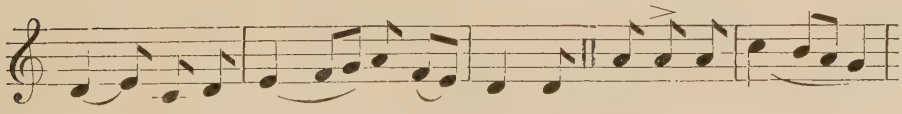
(1) Ἀβ - βα-κοὺμ. τὴν ἔν - δοξ - όν σου παρ - ου - - - σί - αν (2) ἄν - - ω - θεν



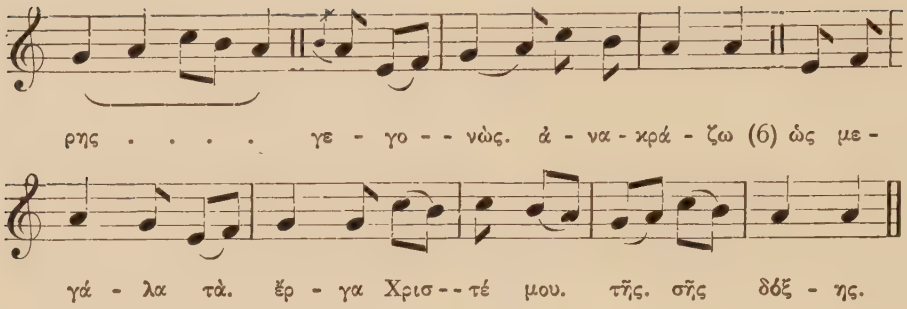
Λό - - - γε προ - ι - δὼν ἀν - ε - - βό - α (3) Ἀ - - κή - - - κο - α.



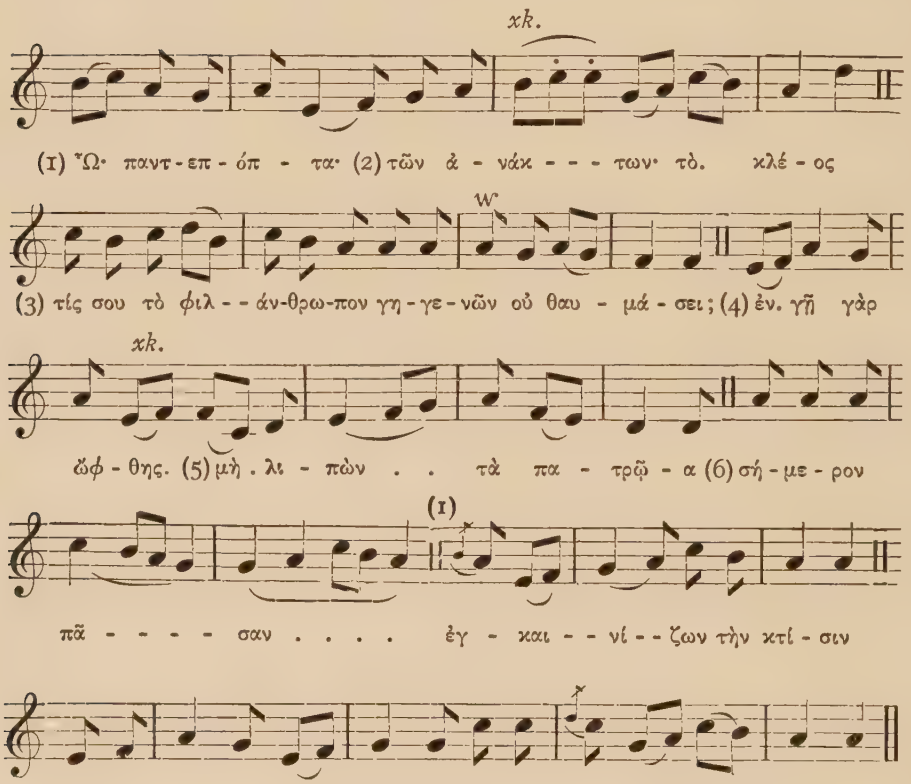
Κύ - - ρι - - ε (4) ὅ - τι ἐξ. ὄ - - - ρους . . ἁ - γί - ου ἤξ - -



εις. εἰς βρο - τῶν . . σω - τη - - ρί - αν (5) καὶ δέ - ους πλή - - - -

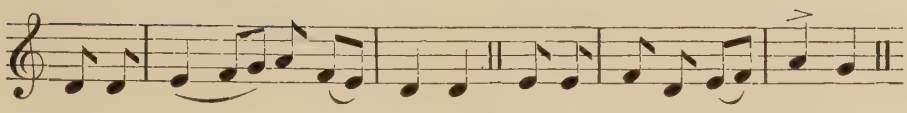


ODE V.

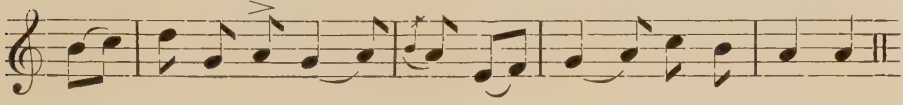


[1] The printed neumes begin here.

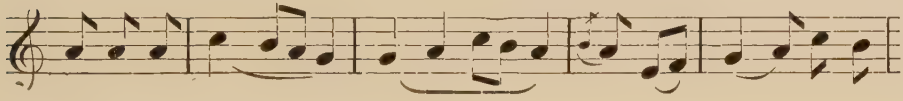
ODE VI. From d.



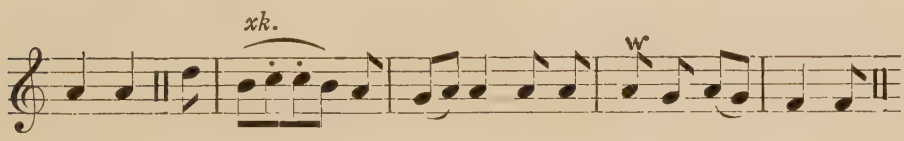
(1) Εἰς βυ - θὸν . . ἀπ - ω - - λεί - ας (2) ἡ τα - λαί - πω - ρος . φύ - σις



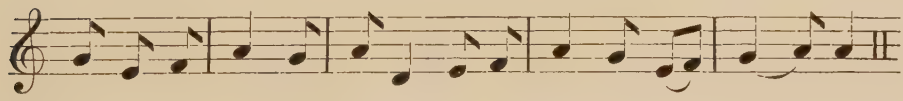
(3) Χρισ - - τέ μου Σῶ - τερ . κατ - αν - - τή - - σα - σα πά - λαι



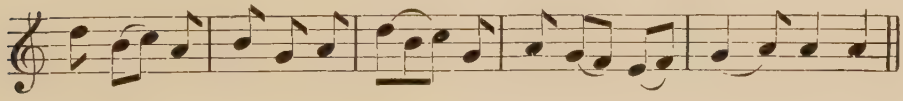
(4) ἔ - κει - το φεῦ . . . μοι . . . . σκο - τει - - νοῖς . ἐν κευθ -



μῶ - σιν (5) ἐ - πεὶ . . . δὲ τῇ . σῇ θε - ι - κῇ δυ - νασ - - τεί - ᾳ

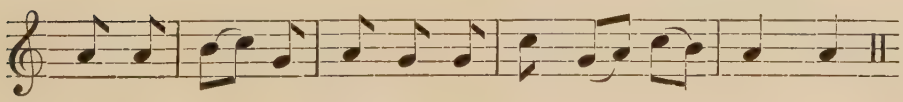


(6) πρὸς οὐ - ρα - νοῦ ἀν - έ - βη τὰ τερπ - νό - τα - τα . κάλ - - λη .

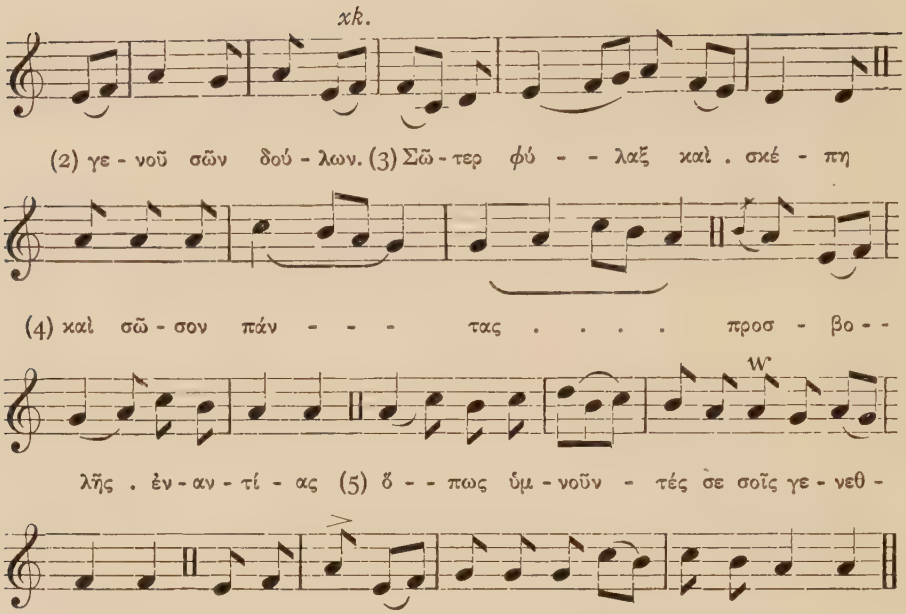


(7) Θό - σω· σοι, Σῶ - τερ, βο - ᾷ . . . θυ - σί - αν. αἰ - - νέ - - σε - ως.

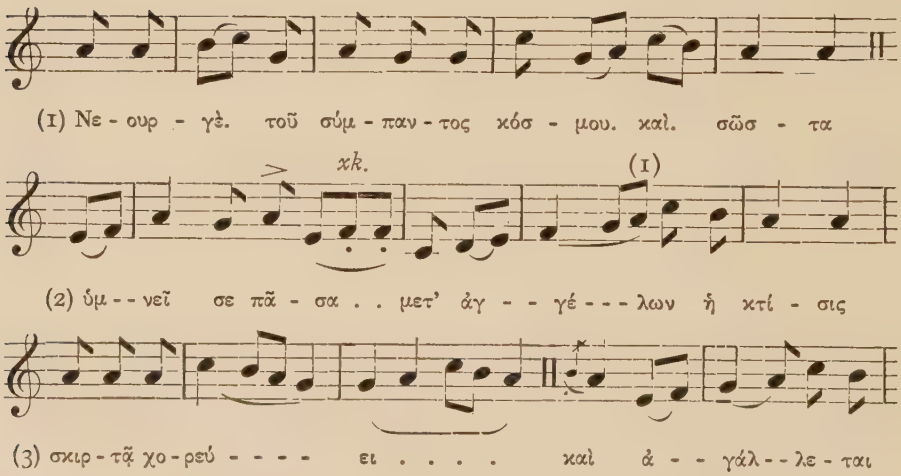
ODE VII.



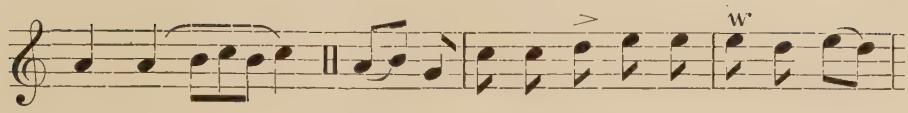
(1) Ὡς οἱ παῖ - - δες πά - λαι σοι κρά - ζο - - μεν . Λό - γε



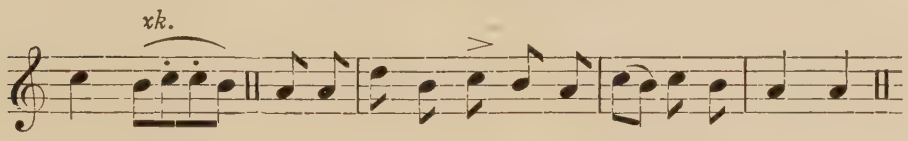
ODE VIII.



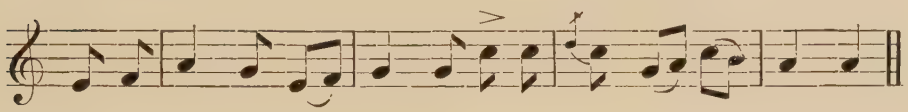
[1] Text confused. We add the Duo Kentemata from the second hand.



τρό - μῳ . . . . (4) Εὐ - - λο - γεῖ - τε λέ - γου - σα πάν - τα τὰ.

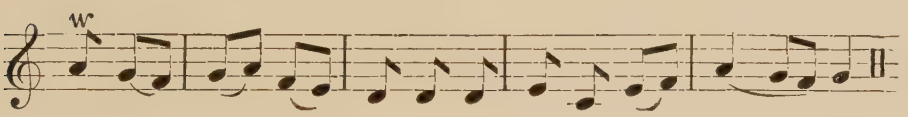


ἔρ - γα . . . τὰ . σεπ - τὰ Γε - νέθ - λι - α τοῦ. Λυ - τρω - τοῦ μου

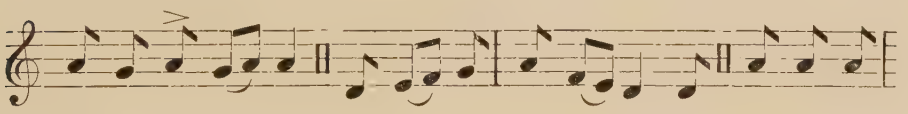


(5) σὺν ἡ - μῖν εἰς αἰ - ῶ - νας πό - θῳ ὑ - περ - - υ - - ψοῦ - τε.

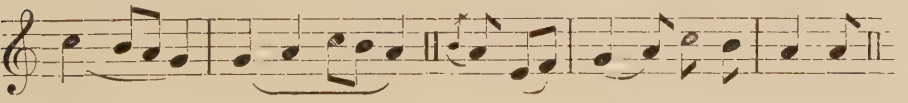
ODE IX.



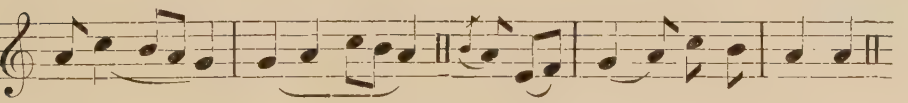
(1) Χαί - ροις . πάν - - αγ - - νε θε - ο - δέγ - μον Μα - ρί - - - α



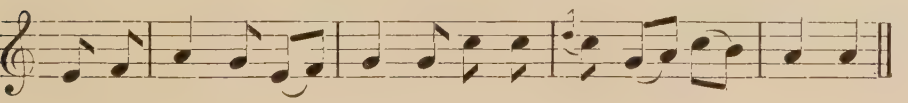
(2) χαί - ροις ἄχ - ραν - - τε (3) τῶν πεπ - - τω - κό - των. βά - σις (4) ἐν σοὶ γὰρ



ὤφ - - - - θη . . . . σή - με - - ρον. ὁ Δεσ - πό - της



(5) ὦ θαῦ - - - - μα . . . . (6) και - νουρ - - γοῦν. τοὺς φθα - ρέν - τας



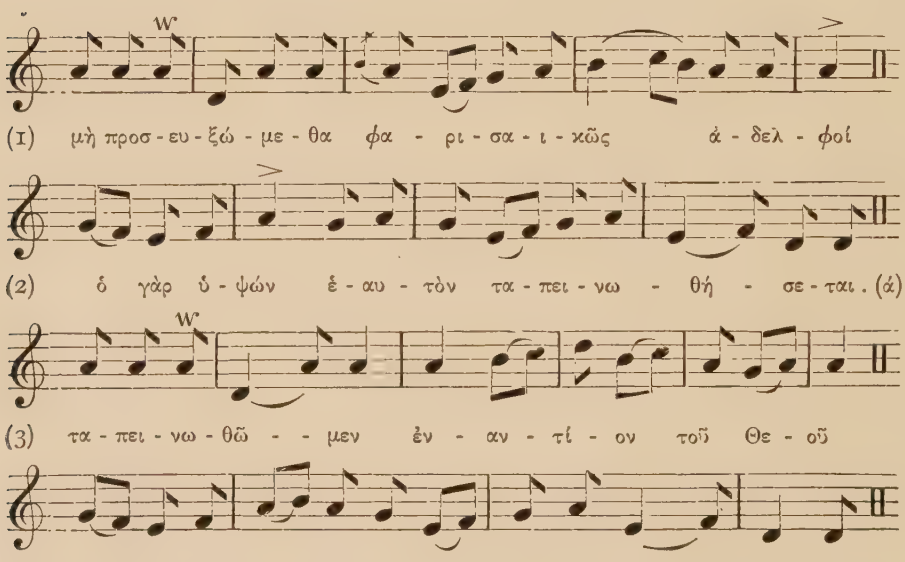
(7) καὶ πρὸς φῶς ἐπ - αν - - ά - γον (8) τὸ ἀν - έσ - πε - - ρον. Κό - ρη.

§ 2. SOME FACSIMILES IN E. WELLESZ, *BYZANTINISCHE MUSIK.*

Dr. Wellesz in his recent admirable handbook[1] has given several pages of reproductions, but has, in most instances, not offered an interpretation, wishing, as we presume, to stimulate the reader to independent study. The specimens on pages 86 and 87 are Ecphonetic; 88, the ornate neumes (Chartres fragment); 89 and 90 (No. 10), the Coislin Neumes with the hooked Ison. That on page 89 was probably antedated by the original editors and may belong to the twelfth century. This also applies to No. 11 (p. 90), which appears to be in the late Round Notation and possibly of the fifteenth century. On page 91 are two short hymns in the ordinary Round Notation from the Triodium.[2] Wellesz himself has transcribed the second and gives his version on page 70. With this we are in general agreement. The first hymn we have tried to read, and give the result below.

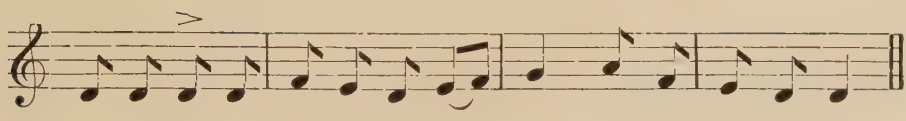
Hymn for Pharisee and Publican Sunday.

MODE I, from a. Finalis a or d.



[1] Wellesz, E., *Byz. Musik* (Breslau, 1927).

[2] This book contains the hymns for Lent and Holy Week.

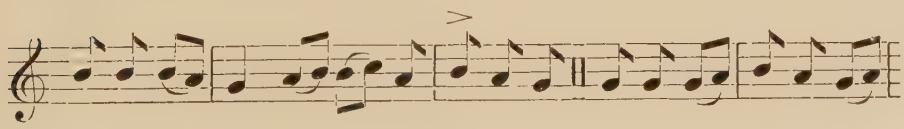


(5) ὁ Θε - ὸς ἱ - λάσ - θη - τι ἡ - μῖν τοῖς ἁ - μαρ - τω - λοῖς.

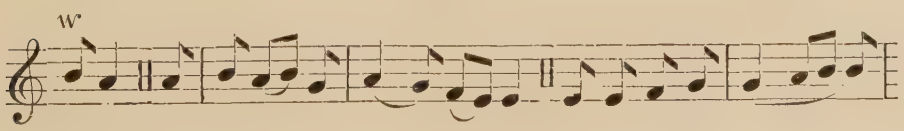
The music is very simple. Over —φαρ (line 1) read Ison, Klasma Oxeia (accented staccato note, possibly ornamented). Line 2, over —ψων Kentema over Kratema (prolonged accented note : value—ascending third). In line 3 over —ον, probably Elaphron over Petaste with Duo Kentemata and Gorgon. The Petaste is annulled. The Gorgon is a warning against a rallentando. In line 4 over —τει— the Oligon has almost vanished. The text shews only trifling differences from that of the Triodium : the latter has in line 4, κράζοντες, and line 5, ἱλάσθητι ἡμῖν ὁ Θεός.

The next specimen, reproduced but not transcribed by Dr. Wellesz, is from a good MS. in the Round Notation, dated 1333. A later scribe, familiar with the Cucuzelian System, added in the fifteenth or sixteenth century the medial signatures and a great many subsidiary signs or Hypostases. The latter had no musical value, but were primarily directions to the conductor, and referred either to the execution of the passage or else gave a summary indication of some conventional group of notes already expressed in detail by the interval-signs. The hymns are in Mode II and come from the Octoechus. There is no difficulty in reading the first two hymns and the third, which is incomplete, as far as the last signature.

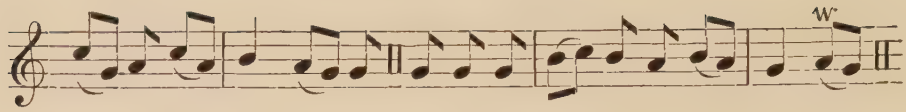
E. Wellesz, *Byz. Musik*, p. 92.
MODE II, from B natural (h).



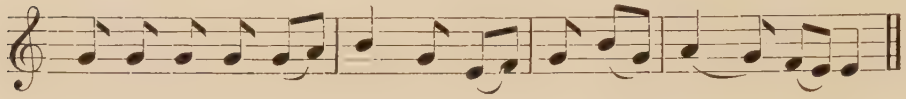
(1) Δεῦ - τε λα - οὶ - - προσ - κυ - νή - σω - μεν (β.')(2)τὸν ἐκ νε-κρῶν ἀ - να -



στάν - τα (3) καὶ κόσ - μον φω - τί - σαν - τα. (πλ. β'.) (4) καὶ ἡ - μῶν τὸ γέ - νος

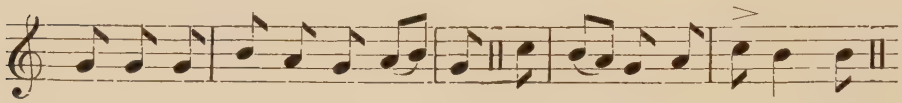


ἐ - λευ - θε - ρώ-σαν-τα (β′) (5) ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἄι - δου τυ - ραν - νί - δος (β′.)

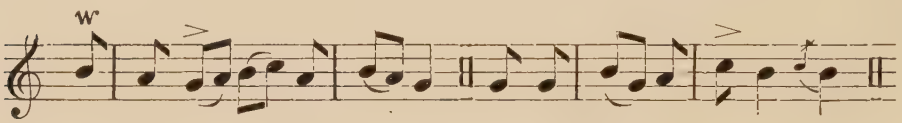


(6) δι - ὰ τῆς τρι - η - μέ - ρου αὐ - τοῦ ἐ - γέρ - σε - ως.

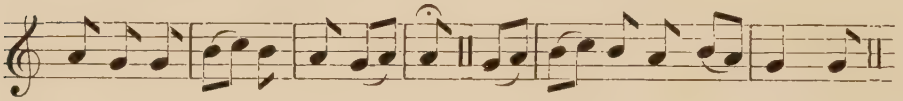
MODE II, from g.



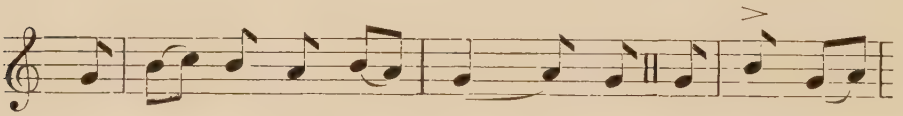
(1) ἐν τῷ σταυ - ρῷ προσ - η - λω - θεὶς (2) ὑ - πὸ τῶν πα - ρα - νό - μων (β′.)



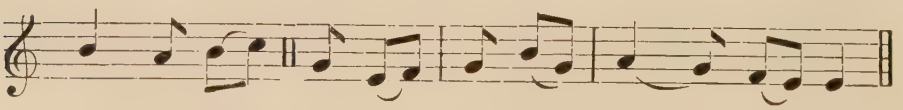
(3) ἐν νε - κροῖς ἐ - λο - γίσ - θης (β′) (4) ὁ ἀ - θά - να - τος Λό - γος (β′.)



(5) καὶ ἐξ - αν - έσ - της ὡς Θε - ὸς (α′) (6) τρι - ή - με - ρος ἐν δό - ξῃ (β′)

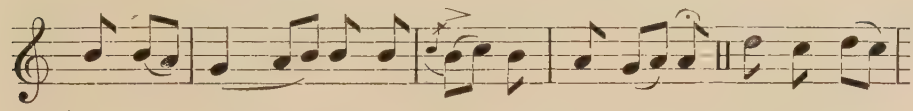


(7) δω - ρού - με - νος τῷ κόσ - μῳ (β) (8) ζω - ὴν αἰ -

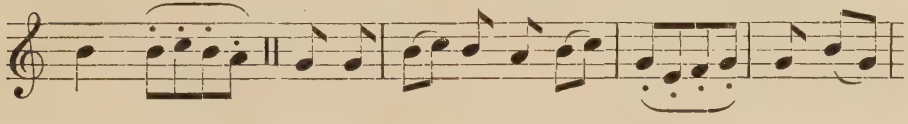


ώ - νι - ον (9) καὶ τὸ μέ - γα ἔ - λε - ος

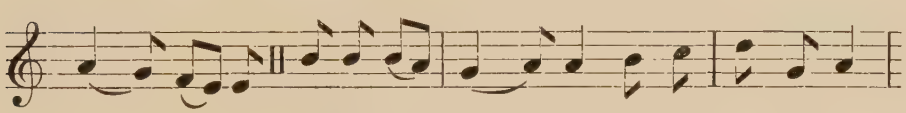
MODE II, from B natural (h).



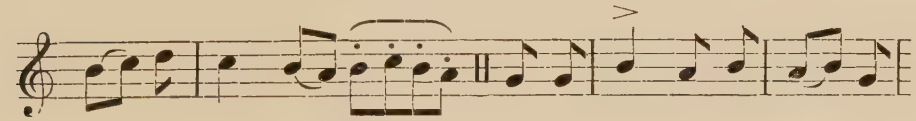
(1) ὡς ὡ - ρά - - θης Χρισ - τὲ ἐν τῷ σταυ - ρῷ (α′) καθ-η - λω -



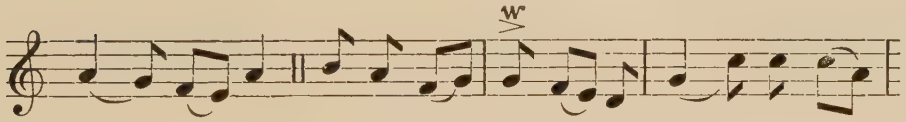
μέ - νος (2) τῶν κτισ - μά - των αἱ μορ - φαὶ ἠλ - λοι -



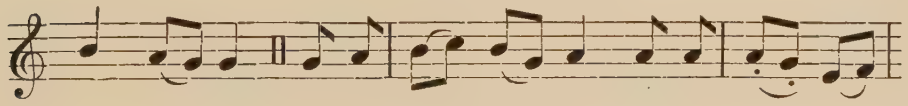
ώ-θη-σαν (πλ. β′.) (3) καὶ στρα - τι - ῶ - ται τὸ ἀπ - άν - θρω - πον



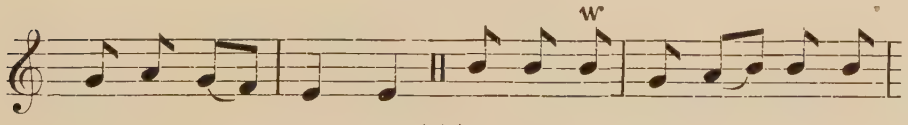
ἐν - δεικ - νύ - με - νοι (4) τὴν πλευ - ράν σου λόγ - χῃ ἐ -



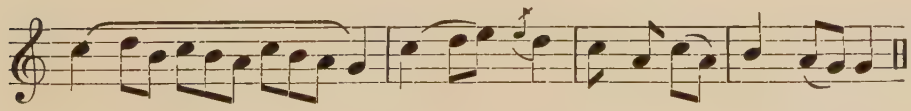
κέν - τη - σαν (5) τά - φον Ἑ - βραῖ - οι σφρα - γί - σαι ἡ -



τή - σαν - το (β′.) (6) ἁγ - νο - οῦν - τές σου τοῦ θα - νόν - τος



τὴν ἐξ - ου - σί - αν (β′.) (7) ὁ δι - ὰ σπλάγχ - να οἰκ - τιρ -



μῶν . . . . . πάν - τα κα - τα - δεξ - ά - με - νος

(β′) κτλ.

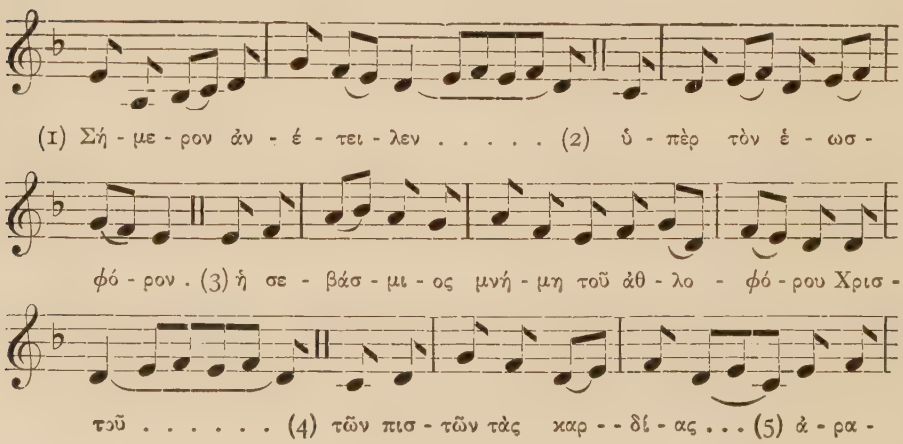
In the second hymn observe the Piasma over —θα— in line 4. This must be carefully distinguished both from the Duo Kentemata and from the Diple. In the third hymn the signature bears the Oxeia and Duo Kentemata, shewing that we begin from B natural. The Phthora or modulation-sign of the Nenano at the end of line 4 was added by the later scribe, who wished to introduce a chromatic passage. Here we should have an accidental A flat as far as —γι— in line 5, where the Modulant of Mode III (correctly placed on the note c′) restores the diatonic species. The same transitions are made in lines 6 and 7. A pathetic effect is obviously sought. The Duo Kentemata in this MS. are written one above the other. The Gorgon (quick-sign) is added several times in the later hand to the Duo Kentemata, but by no means always; so that we are not to assume that the Duo Kentemata in the Round Notation implied a shorter time-value than other notes.

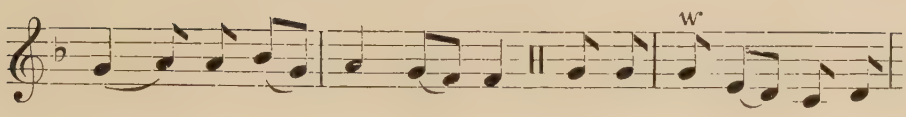
On page 93 Dr. Wellesz gives a facsimile of two complete hymns, which I have collated with a better MS., Cryptoferratensis E. α. II. The result reveals several errors in the Sinaitic text, which, in the absence of all medial signatures, would have been hard to decipher without outside aid. The hymns are Idiomela for the eighth of June; but only the second appears in the Menaeum. The signature of the First Plagal mode in the first hymn bears in both MSS. an ascending second (Oxeia) besides the usual two commas. This indicates a start from e, one note above the Finalis,—a type of which no certain example has hitherto been found. The second hymn is a normal specimen of the Fourth Plagal mode.

E. Wellesz, *Byz. Musik*, p. 93.

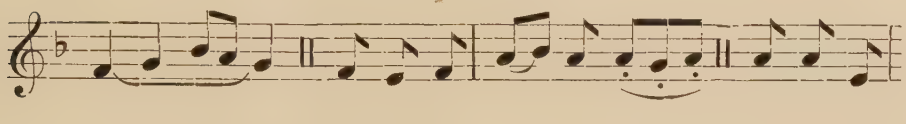
(1) Hymn for St. Theodore, 8th June.

Mode I, Plagal, from e.

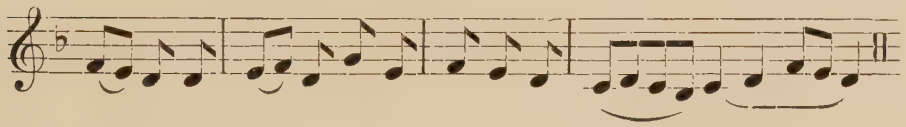




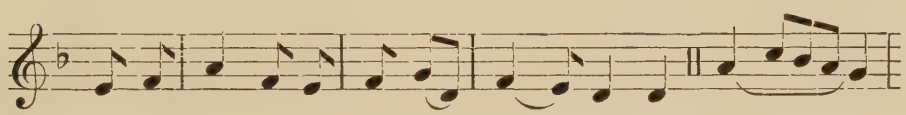
ρό - τως φω - τί - ζου - σα, (6) καὶ τὰ νέ - φη τῶν ψυ -



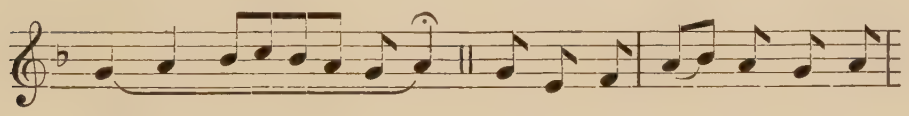
χῶν . . . . ἀ - πο - δι - ώ - κου - - σα. (7) τῇ ἐν - ερ -



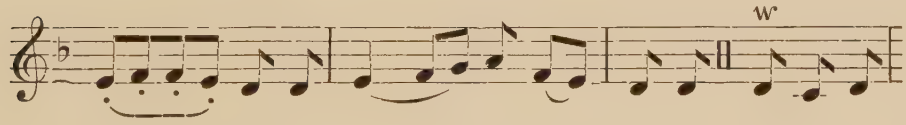
γεί - ᾳ καὶ χά - ρι - τι τοῦ πνεύ - μα - τος (8) πρὸς δν . . . .



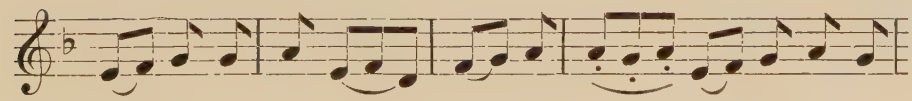
φι λο - μάρ - τυ - ρες (9) ἀ - να - κρά - ξω - μεν. χαί - - -



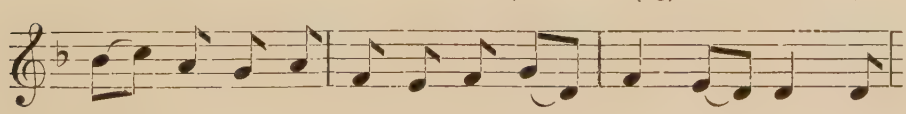
ροις . . - - - (10) ὁ τοῖς πισ - τοῖς ἀ - να - δειχ -



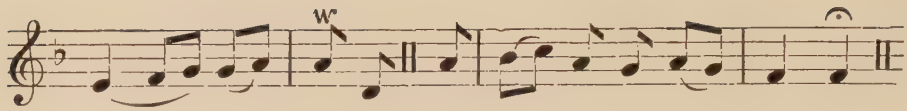
θεὶς (11) θε - ω - δώ - ρη - τος χά - ρις (12) καὶ τῶν θαυ -



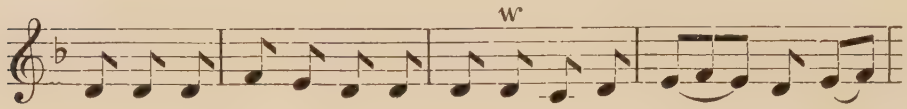
μά - των τὰ πλή - θη . . ἐ - φα - πλῶν (13) τοῖς εἴς σε προσ -



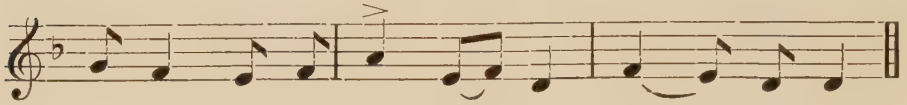
τρέ - χου - σι, Θε - ό - δω - ρε μα - κά - ρι - ε (14) Χρισ -



τὸν ἀ - παύσ - τως πρεσ - βεύ - ων μὴ ἐλ - λεί - ποις



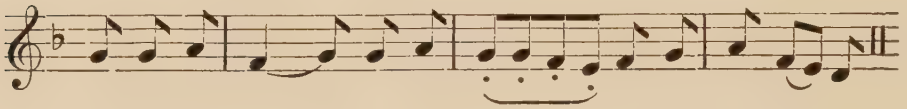
(15) τῶν αἰ - ω - νί - ων ἀ - γα - θῶν ἐ - πι - τυ - χεῖν (16) τοῖς ἐν



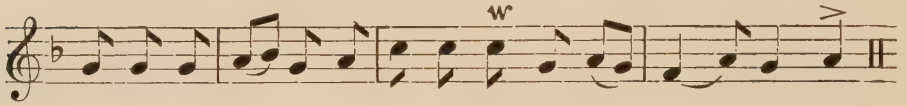
πίσ - τει ἐκ - τε - λοῦ - σι τὴν μνή - μην σου.

(2) Hymn for St. Theodore, 8th June.

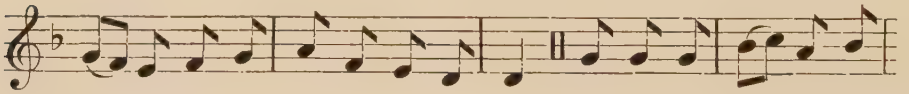
Mode IV, Plagal, from g.



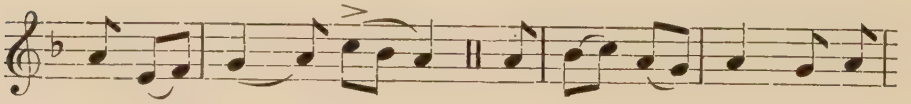
(1) Τῶν τοῦ Θε - οῦ δω - ρε - ῶν ὡς ἐπ - ώ - νυ - μον



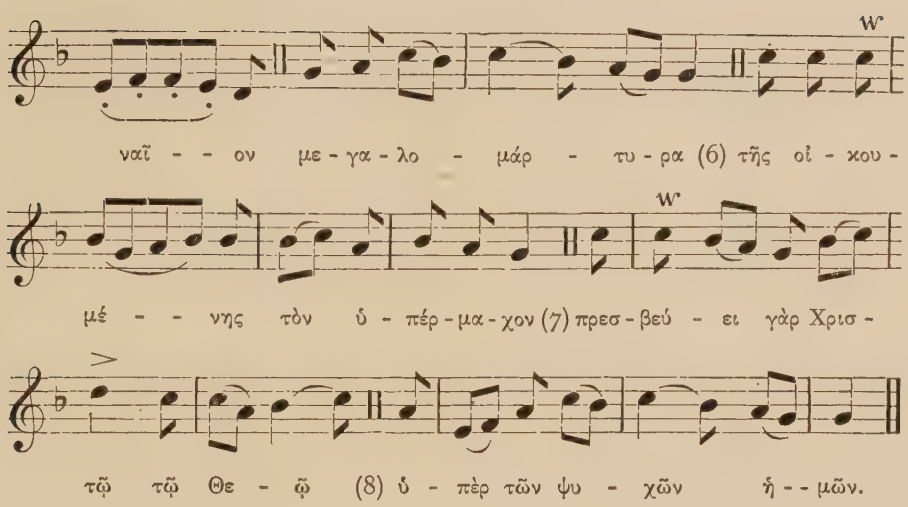
(2) καὶ τῆς αὐ . τοῦ κλη - ρο - νό - μον μα - κα - ρι - - ό - - τη - τος



(3) πάν - τες εὐ - φη - μή - σω - μεν πισ - τοί, (4) καὶ μα - κα - ρί - σω - μεν



ἐπ - αξ - ί - ως (5) Θε - ό - δω - ρον τὸν γεν -



In the first hymn, line 1 (*fin.*), the Kylisma indicates an ornamental flourish, here fully given by the neumes. The formula is like d, ef ef, d, and is only found at the end of a versicle. Line 6, over —σα Xeron Klasma (mezzo-staccato). Line 9, over —οις (in Sinait. only) Diple is added to Apoderma, making a long pause. In line 7 over —ερ— read Elaphron over Apostrophus, making a downward fourth. This brings the melody into agreement with Cryptoferr., but the variants in the latter shew that the passage may be otherwise unsound. Line 12, over —πλων read Ison for Oligon: so Cryptoferr. Line 14, over —ων read Apostrophus-Elaphron (descending third), again with Cryptoferr. In doubtful cases we may safely trust this admirable Italian MS.

Second hymn.—In line 1 the Xeron Klasma over [δωρε—]ων makes a mezzo-staccato. Line 2, over μα— read Ison over Petaste (= Cryptoferr.[2]). Line 4, over —σω— read Apostrophus-Elaphron (= Cryptoferr.), making a descending third. Line 7, *fin.* the text is confused: read Θε— Bareia, Ison, Klasma, Apostrophus-Elaphron; —ῷ Oligon with Diple (not Gorgon) Petaste. The other variants in the Grottaferrata MS. are unimportant.

On page 94 are two examples of the Cucuzelian Notation. The first is barely legible on such a small scale, while the second has been interpreted by Dr. Wellesz himself. Cucuzelian MSS. are freely embellished with subsidiary signs in red ink and are difficult to reproduce by any process. Page 95 exhibits an autograph of Chrysanthus, the reformer of the musical notation. It is noticeable that he still used the Little

Ison (placed over double consonants in the Cucuzelian System), although it was discarded in the printed Chrysanthine music. An example of this print is given on page 96, but it does not contain an entire hymn. Although some of Dr. Wellesz' specimens are taken from older publications, yet these were so inaccessible that the benefit of the reprint is nearly as great as the display of altogether new material in a book which presents a much-neglected subject in a clear and attractive manner.

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EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1926.

(Plates XXVII–XXX.)

§ 1.—Introductory.

A short account of the campaign of 1926 at Sparta has already appeared in the Annual Report of the British School for the Session 1925–26, and consequently need not be repeated here. Work started on April 7th and lasted until June 5th, the Director being in charge throughout, except for a brief visit to Athens to attend the opening ceremony of the Gennadios Library on April 23rd. He had as helpers Mrs. Woodward, Mr. P. De Jong and Mr. G. A. D. Tait, who were present for the whole campaign; and, for shorter periods, Mr. H. Box, who stayed from the start to April 18th, and returned for the last three weeks of the work, Mr. W. L. Cuttle, Miss K. Chrimes, of the British School at Rome, and Miss E. Tankard, who again came to draw our finds of small objects.

The Hellenic Government was ably represented by Dr. Th. Karachalios, Ephor of Laconia and Messenia, and the Archaeological Section of the Ministry of Religion and Education again kindly allowed us to employ as foreman Georgios Alexopoulos, Phylax at Mycenae, who performed his duties with his customary zeal and competence. Our total number of workmen averaged nearly fifty, though for a time we had as many as sixty, and we were fortunate in losing very little time through bad weather.

The main task was again the theatre, where I had the help of Mr. Box, who also kept the registers of marbles and inscriptions; in his absence Miss Chrimes and Mrs. Woodward helped with the former, and Mr. De Jong was continuously at hand to plot walls and levels, and to interpret obscure points of construction. The chief subsidiary site was

the Acropolis, where Mr. Tait was in charge throughout, under my general supervision; and towards the end of the season Mr. Cuttle resumed his excavation of the Byzantine church on the spur of the Acropolis hill east of the theatre.

The principal results of the work at the theatre are described below (§ 2), but I have decided to postpone the account of that on the Acropolis until we have completed clearing the building whose foundations unexpectedly came to light to the south of the region explored in 1924–25, lying deep below the back wall of the *cavea* of the theatre. This structure and the chief finds made in and near it have been mentioned in the Annual Report cited above. In addition to the account of the theatre, I publish below (§ 3) most of the important inscriptions from the theatre, including all the blocks and fragments found in 1926 belonging to the series engraved on the east Parodos-wall, which brings us much nearer to the final epigraphical publication of this monument. We can scarcely claim that finality has yet been reached, as it should be possible to obtain more information as to the original positions of some of the fallen blocks by a fuller study of their dimensions and details of dressing, and we may yet find other fragments which have strayed still further from the wall as a result of the activities of mediaeval builders.

A. M. WOODWARD.

EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1926.

§ 2.—The Theatre.

(Plates XXVII–XXX.)

The main results of the work in 1926 may be summarised as follows: (1) The completion of the uncovering of the stage-buildings, and the location of the street running east and west behind them. (2) The excavation of the area east of the stage, down to its marble pavement, by uncovering a wide strip, extending from the east wall of the stage to the foot of the external staircase described in my last report (*B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 132). (3) The clearance of a strip along the west Parodos as far as the east face of the projecting bastion, which we assumed to have carried a staircase similar to that in front of the east retaining-wall; and the partial clearance of the outer south-west angle of the western retaining-wall. As we shall see, the *data* obtained here now prove that there cannot have been such an external stair on the west.

Minor pieces of work included the examination at several points of the wall surrounding the back of the *cavea*, and trials in the *cavea* for the purpose of obtaining more exact details as to the construction of the *diazoma*. The latter were unavailing, as both our pits shewed that, as a result of later disturbance, even the foundations of the *diazoma* were much destroyed.

My report follows, as far as possible, the arrangement of the previous one,[1] so as to enable amplifications or corrections of statements there made to be followed more easily.

The Cavea.

As regards the seats and the arrangement of the stairways, there is nothing material to add to the published report. South-east of stairway

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 119 ff.

VII., above the *diazoma*, the remains of two rows of seats which have survived *in situ* were thoroughly cleared, and the edge of that stairway was uncovered, in good preservation. In front of them we cut downhill to clear a portion of the *diazoma*, but found nothing of it which could be put on the plan. The assumption of symmetry in the general laying-out of the *cavea* must be modified, in view of the conclusion that there was no external staircase on the west.[1] The upper courses of the retaining-wall have entirely collapsed here, leaving us no means of verifying whether (as seems likely) the space gained by the omission of this staircase was utilised for an extension of the seats beyond the corresponding line in the east half of the *cavea*.

The water-channel running between the front row of seats and the orchestra was further examined, and many of its cover-slabs were lifted. It now appears that it has undergone reconstruction both north and south of the point where it passes the north-east corner of the *Hyposcenium*. Its sides have been heightened by a course each, with very miscellaneous blocks of marble, one of which was part of a large block bearing an inscription, lying face upwards (No. 36*a* below).[2] The cover-slabs were equally varied in character, and no two had the same dimensions. The general effect of this addition was to raise the height of the sides of the channel by ·20–·25 m., and on their upper surfaces the cover-slabs were not levelled off flush with each other. Where the course of the channel begins to run approximately south, alongside the east wall of the stage, its construction changes, and it becomes a tunnel of rather poor rubble-concrete about ·70 m. deep. This was cleared for about seven metres, but yielded nothing of interest; and as the roof was unsound, we followed it no further.

Substructure and Retaining-Walls.

The excavations on the Acropolis gave us further confirmation of the presence of the extensive layer of imported clay utilised to raise the original level of the hill to the height needed to carry the upper rows of

[1] In this respect the *cavea*-plan, *op. cit.* Pl. X., is therefore erroneous.

[2] As is there pointed out, the second portion of this inscription was found built into the fortification-wall along the line of the west Parodos, above Staircase I. This need not be taken as evidence that the two building-operations were simultaneous. I suggest below, p. 207 f., that the rebuilding of the drain may date from *ca.* A.D. 300, and the fortification-wall from *ca.* 395.

seats in front of the Chalkioikos Sanctuary.[1] Behind Staircase IV this clay, together with the votive deposit lying beneath it, attained a depth of 4·40 m. below the surface of the surrounding-wall of the *cavea*. This wall, which is of uniform construction, as stated last year (*B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 130 f.), has now been cleared continuously for a length of about 36 m. in an easterly direction. East of Staircase V*a*, on the axial line of the *cavea*, it has disappeared, for an extent which we did not ascertain; but we found it again just west of the ruined modern house which stands nearly over the top of Staircase VI*a*. It was clear that the original level of the hill, behind the exact centre of the *cavea*, was such that there was no need for a deep layer of filling to be used, and the foundations of the *cavea*-wall seemed to go down into undisturbed clay. Just to the east of this, again, there was some imported sandy earth, but it was not clear whether this was contemporary with the theatre-wall or to be associated with the buildings which were erected here in later Roman and mediaeval times.

No further tests were made for terrace-walls in the upper part of the *cavea*, but more attention was paid to the construction of the outer retaining-wall on the west. Trenches were sunk, on the summit of the Acropolis, to ascertain the thickness of this wall, and a section was laboriously cut through its concrete core behind the massive *poros* facing-blocks.[2] This lies at a depth of about 1·60 m. below the modern ground-level, and the total thickness, measured from the average face of the wall, amounted to 3·10–3·20 m. The foundation of the Byzantine wall built above it [3] was reached at 0·20 m. from the modern level in one pit, and at 0·60 m. in another, and the Roman foundation projected *ca* ·50–·60 m. eastwards from it. The inner face of the latter did not shew a regular line, the *poros* blocks projecting unevenly from it, which clearly indicates that they were not meant to be visible.

We also proved that, contrary to expectation, the retaining-wall does not continue to follow its original course, parallel to the wall which bounds the *cavea*, for more than a distance of 40 m. from the outer south-west angle, for a test made to intercept its course beyond this point found

[1] *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 250 ff.

[2] This core was conspicuously tough, and a few marble fragments, including a piece of a good Ionic volute, were found built into it. We did not try to reach the bottom of the foundations at this point.

[3] Cf. *B.S.A.* xii. p. 424 f., and Pl. VIII. 3.

no wall here, but only a pavement of bricks set in good grey cement, which, though of Roman date, may bear no structural relation to the theatre. On the contrary, it appears that it sets outwards in a north-westerly direction, following the brow of the hill, and that the Byzantine fortress-wall which takes the same direction rests at first on the remains of the retaining-wall.

Of the southern face of the western retaining-wall we cleared a narrow strip, proceeding eastwards from the outer angle. The work had not been completed when our season closed, but here again unexpected results were obtained. In the first place, the original ground-level at the angle proved to have been considerably higher than at the outer south-east corner, and we came upon the uppermost of two stepped foundation-courses close to the present surface, at a height of about 4 m. (corresponding to that of about eleven courses) above the presumed pavement-level in the west Parodos, which coincides with the level of the pavement at the foot of the external eastern staircase. Below the second foundation-course was undisturbed clay. This proves beyond doubt that the original ground-level, at the time of the building of the theatre, sloped considerably downwards in an easterly direction, and also that there can have been no pavement extending continuously from here to the west Parodos. In fact we found no pavement at all at this high level, but we cannot yet tell how the drop in level was managed between the west end of the retaining-wall and the point where the west bastion sets off from the Parodos-wall proper. This unexpectedly high ground-level at the west end has also the important consequence that there can have been no need for an external staircase of anything like the same height as that on the east, if indeed there was one at all. Actually, as far as we can tell without still further clearing fallen material from the face of the wall, there are no structural indications that there ever was an external staircase here, and moreover such positive indications as were observed point to the contrary conclusion.[1] We must consequently suppose that the bastion, of which, as will be seen below, we uncovered the eastern end, was in reality built to give added strength to the retaining-wall, and finished off on the side nearest the stage so as to appear symmetrical with the eastern one. We can only assume that it may have been utilised to give additional seating-space.

[1] Excavations in 1927 have shewn that there cannot have been an external staircase here.

Further work is also needed here before we can tell for certain if the bastion had marble facing-blocks. There were several *poros* blocks with rusticated faces *in situ* just above the original ground-level near the outer angle, but more than one fallen marble block, of the dimensions suitable for facing-blocks, came to light in the same region. Another indication of difference in the arrangements between the eastern and western retaining-walls was furnished by our discovery, at 17 m. east of the outer angle, of the commencement of a brick wall, ·38 m. wide, built up against the latter wall. Its full extent was not determined, though we traced it eastwards for about 4 m., but it seemed contemporary with some period in the history of the building of the theatre, rather than mediaeval. The bricks were mostly of the types found previously at the theatre, bearing, in one form or another, the Skenotheke stamp,[1] and were well laid with thin layers of lime-mortar, indicative of Roman work. It remains to be seen if this is actually part of the Skenotheke, or is a later structure made of re-used bricks from it. The presence of the building to which this wall belongs still more definitely confirms our conclusion that there was no access towards the west Parodos from this direction, and furnishes a definite argument against the presence of an outer stair. We have still about half the length of the western retaining-wall to clear in 1927, and hope to elucidate the meaning of the brick building, which promises to prove an important addition to the plan; but to the east of the bastion we have already cleared a strip down to the level of the foundations of the Parodos-wall. This too shewed features which differed from those of the east Parodos. In the first place, the west bastion projects only 2 m. from the main wall, as opposed to 3·21 m. which is the projection of that on the east. It has the appearance of having been cut off short, as the *torus* ends squarely, without sign of returning along the bastion itself; and immediately adjoining it to the south is a brick structure, not yet fully cleared, but pierced with a rectangular channel ·27 m. square, which must have been for purposes of drainage. At a higher level than that of this outflow the space behind this brick wall had served as a Byzantine grave, and it also yielded a large number of pieces of a rectangular marble grille with a moulding round all four sides, which it was possible to reconstruct almost in full.

Moreover, in front of the Parodos-wall, from which almost all the

[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 191 ff.

facing blocks have been stripped, from the *torus* upward, a foundation came to light, and proved to extend continuously from the late wall outside the west of the stage as far as the offset of the bastion, a length of 17 m. It consists of a course of well-worked *poros* blocks, 1 m. wide, set on a footing of rough cobbles packed with clay, with a return at the east end, which measures 2·10 m. in length and 1·20 m. in width. The inner face of the main wall is only 1·40 m. in front of the *poros* foundations of the Parodos-wall, and the return reaches to within ·40 m. of them, leaving here a space which has clearly served as a rain-channel. In the angle where the wall returns are more *poros* blocks, also carefully laid, but not reaching to the level of the wall proper, and they extend only about 3 m. westward from the return; further still to the west similar blocks occur, but not continuously. They give the appearance of having carried paving-slabs which spanned the channel between the main wall and the *poros* foundation-course of the Parodos-wall, rather than as surviving from a deliberate addition to the north face of the wall itself.

This foundation, which could not be traced further westward—if indeed it extended in this direction—without removing the east face of the bastion, seems contemporary with the Parodos-wall, and its style and position suggest that it carried a colonnade. Proof, in the form of remains of columns or epistyle-blocks, was totally lacking, but no alternative suggestion commends itself. The only column-fragment found in the immediate neighbourhood was a massive, coarse, unfluted fragment, ·70 m. in diameter, which seems disproportionately large, and was rather too poorly finished to be connected with a colonnade in this position.

The East Parodos and Outer Staircase.

One of the main tasks of the first half of our season was to dig a wide strip down to the original floor-level in front of the east Parodos-wall, extending from the side of the *Hyposcenium* as far as the bastion carrying the outer staircase, and at the same time to clear the bastion itself, and to plan all that remained in position. The fallen masonry, which largely consisted of marble facing-blocks from the wall, had been utilised to a considerable extent in Byzantine times for structures with stout walls projecting at right angles to the retaining-wall, and their removal was a laborious and sometimes dangerous task. Many of the blocks proved to bear inscriptions belonging to the series found in the two previous cam-

paigns, and a few small fragments joined others unearthed during them.[1] The incidental finds were unimportant, except for a draped female statue, of rather more than life-size, but lacking its head, in Pentelic marble, which we discovered lying face downwards just in front of the wall-foundations. As it is of a type common in Imperial times, and already represented in the Sparta museum,[2] publication is postponed until it can be dealt with in conjunction with the other sculptures from the theatre.

FIG. 1.—EAST PARODOS, WITH TWO LEVELS OF PAVEMENT.

No base came to light with it, and the person represented is not identifiable; we may suppose her to have been a citizeness, perhaps a priestess, of the Antonine period. Among architectural fragments, mention may be made of a substantial piece of an early-looking Doric column in *poros*, with stucco facing, no doubt brought later from elsewhere as filling; other fragments of *poros* columns were found close outside the south-east corner of the stage, but seem to be of later, perhaps Roman, date.

The marble paving-slabs of the Parodos-passage were on the whole well preserved, and shewed proof of two periods of construction. At a

[1] See below, p. 211 ff.

[2] *S.M.C.* 87, 88, 530.

point 10 m. east of the return of the *Hyposcenium* there was a descent to a lower level, as one went eastwards, marked by a step ·20 m. high, in marble, which originally extended for a width of at least 4 m. southwards from the Parodos-wall; its whole extent has not been traced, and it is broken away at both ends. Three blocks, with a total length of 1·70 m., survive (Fig. 1). We also found that, as had seemed probable,[1] the later masonry, located in 1924, abutting on the *torus* of the Parodos-wall at some 3 m. from its west end, is the respond of the east wall of the stage-building, a passage thus being left, with a width of 2·70 m. (beneath which runs the rain-water channel already mentioned), to give access from the Parodos to the Orchestra and the lower seats. It also appeared that the raising of the pavement-level was contemporary with the heightening of the sides of the drain, and that both undertakings are contemporary with the masonry each side of the Parodos-passage.[2] Thus the rubble wall with marble revetment, which bounds the stage on both east and west, and (as was shewn in my previous report, p. 151 f.) is an integral part of the construction comprising the three chambers behind the stage itself, must be attributed to the same period. To this point I will return in dealing with the stage-buildings in general (p. 202 f. below).

Between the Parodos-passage and the bastion, where we have now cleared a strip of the pavement rather more than 4 m. wide, only one wall was encountered which was not definitely later than the date at which the theatre must have passed out of use. This was found, resting on the marble pavement, at a distance of 11·70 m. east of the east wall of the stage, and running parallel to it. It ends abruptly at a distance of 3·50 m. from the Parodos-wall, which, in fact, closely corresponds to the interval between the end of the east wall of the stage and the latter wall. No respond was found against the main wall, but it is possible that we have here an outer gateway of late date belonging to the approach; otherwise it is not easy to account for this wall-end appearing in this position, with no return. The wall is ·75 m. wide, and consists of a rubble core, without mortar, and small facing-blocks of marble. It does not seem to have been veneered with marble.

We had already verified in 1925 the presence of a massive external

[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 149. The difference in the levels of the paving is there given wrongly as ·49 m.

[2] That on the south, as we shall see (p. 190), rests on an earlier foundation.

staircase, and in 1926 we cleared all that remained of it; the plan by Mr. De Jong, here published (Pl. XXVIII), supersedes the conjectural restoration proposed in the earlier report. The face of the bastion carrying the stair projects 3·21 m. from the line of the main wall (omitting the *torus*), and its length over all measured along the south face, to the angle of the course above the *torus*, which projects beyond the lowest step, is 19·30 m. The steps were originally 3·11 m. wide, and the width of the facing-blocks level with them is only ·25 m. This, however, gives us a width (3·11 + ·25 m.) of 3·36 m., ·15 m. greater than the projection at the west end, which is due not to the bastion not being an exactly rectangular structure, but to the fact that the main wall above the steps is out of line with that west of them, to that extent. This anomaly would not have been visible when the staircase was standing to its original height.

The four lowest marble treads of the steps are *in situ* and complete, as is a portion of the fifth, but the remainder are missing, and we found no piece which could have belonged to any of them. They seem to have been built alternatively of three and four blocks of Laconian marble, carefully fitted.[1] Higher up, the *poros* foundation of the next six steps is perfectly preserved, and shallow cuttings clearly visible on the face of the right-hand wall represent the position of four or five more (see Pl. XXX). The bastion itself has five courses of its marble facing-blocks *in situ*, and the solidly-built core of well-fitted *poros* blocks has suffered practically no damage up to that level. The upper portion of the staircase must have collapsed in mediaeval times, as there was a Byzantine occupation-level resting directly on the remains of the bastion, and here, amid some fallen blocks from the wall, whose fall had perhaps contributed to the destruction of the later settlement, we found numerous small Byzantine coins in two hoards (or, more probably, the severed remains of one hoard), mostly, as far as they have been identified, of one type, dating from the twelfth century.[2]

Now that more exact dimensions can be established, the steps prove to measure as follows: ht. ·185; width of tread ·32; breadth 3·11 m. It also appears that we should restore 53, and not 55, to give us the rise needed

[1] The lifting-bosses on the face of the steps resemble those on Staircase I, and elsewhere on the stairs in the *cavea*.

[2] Apparently a variant of *B.M.Cat., Byz. Coins*, Manual I. No. 68.

to reach the *diazoma*. In front of the lowest step was a late and rough wall of marble blocks projecting at right angles from the wall, and into it were built, end to end, so that the wedge-shaped ends of two of them partly overlapped, three blocks from the coping which served as balustrade to these stairs. They are not incorporated in the plan (Pl. XXVIII), but we replaced them *in situ*, guided by the position of the clamp-holes, at the end of the season. Fig. 2 shews finishing touches being given to the adjustment. The block on which the *torus* returns was also found fallen, and replaced. In general, the marble foundation-courses and

Fig. 2.—East External Staircase: Replacing Fallen Blocks of Balustrade.

facing-blocks are finished similarly to those of the main wall, though the coping-blocks, and naturally the upper surface of the blocks on which the coping rested, are distinctly narrower.[1] The wall had only one of the vertical *anathyroses* found in the main wall (cf. *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 134); but, rather to our surprise, it bore four inscriptions *in situ* of which the positions are shewn on the plan (Pl. XXVIII). No reason can be assigned for the resumption of inscriptions at this point, and it is noteworthy that this group seems to be slightly later than the texts on the main wall (*ca.* A.D. 160–175?).[2] The *torus* moulding returns on itself, as we have

[1] ·25 m., as against *ca.* ·49 m.
[2] See below, p. 225 ff., Nos. F 1–4.

seen, just below the lowest step, and the coping has no pilaster at its termination, as it has on the inner ends of the retaining-walls.[1]

The *torus* was found to begin again at a point 1·50 m. east of the bottom step,[2] and presumably reached as far as the outer angle. Just above the third step was a mason's mark, apparently reading APMA, ligatured, which is interesting as being one of the few inscriptions of this kind (other than those on the *poros* blocks of the retaining-wall) which the

FIG. 3.—EAST EXTERNAL STAIRCASE: PART OF THE BASTION SUPPORTING, WITH INSCRIBED STATUE-BASE *IN SITU*.

site has yielded. It was also observed that the pavement in front of the lowest step, consisting of marble flags set in dark-grey cement, lay at a height of about ·14 m. higher than that to the south of the bastion itself, and nearly flush with the top of the lowest of the three marble courses below the *torus*.

In the vicinity of the bastion, the only finds of importance were two inscriptions, both published below (Nos. 37 and 35). The former, which

[1] *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 134.
[2] This is visible on the extreme right, on Pl. XXX.

was in the much disturbed mediaeval level, is from an archaic dedication by an athletic victor; the latter, which is shewn in Fig. 3, is a late epigram, on a columnar statue-base found standing on a rough foundation made of two re-used marble fragments, presumably where it was originally erected late in the fourth century of our era.

The question whether this staircase was part of the original plan of the Roman-age theatre at Sparta admits of but one answer. There is no possibility of its having been a later addition. The joints at the offset on the west are all truly bonded into the main wall; the finish of the marble facing-blocks is almost identical; and lastly, where the stairs are lost above the fifth step the parts of the main wall thus revealed prove to have no marble facing-blocks (see Pl. XXX). Obviously, if the stairway was a later addition, the wall behind would have had marble blocks alike in the exposed and in the concealed portions of its surface.

The Stage.

The stage-area was fully cleared, with results as shewn on the plan.[1] A comparison with the plan published after the first two campaigns (*B.S.A.* xxvi. Pl. XV) shews, not unnaturally, that much new information has been obtained, some of which confirms our first tentative conclusions as to the interrelation of various walls, but, on the other hand, forces us to revise others in the light of fuller knowledge. On the whole, the relative order of the principal walls remains almost unchanged, but it is now clear that there were more structural changes than we had at first thought. Moreover, in spite of the discovery of many more fragments of the architectural decoration of the stage-front, it has not yet been possible to make a satisfactory reconstruction on paper of its elevation at any one of its numerous periods. This is due rather to excess than lack of material, but good progress has been made in classifying fragments of columns, capitals, architraves, cornices, etc., according to type and scale, due attention being paid also to the kind of marble used, and to the exact finding-places of important pieces. It is plain that many architectural blocks have totally disappeared, some, no doubt, into the lime-kiln, and it is no less certain that many of the smaller pieces preserved, and perhaps a few of the larger, have been brought from elsewhere in mediaeval times.

[1] Pls. XXVII and XXIX shew the general view of the stage from the west, at the end of the work in 1926.

We begin our account again from the northernmost of the walls preserved. We found it possible, by means of considerable dexterity on the part of our foreman and some of the stronger among the workmen, to clear away the large mass of fallen architraves and other heavy blocks from behind the *Hyposcenium*, and thus to excavate the region between it and the *Scenae Frons* down to virgin clay, and to test the foundations of all the walls met with. The south face of the *Hyposcenium* was examined, and found to have a foundation of tough rubble-concrete going down to a depth of 1·50 m. below the level of the Orchestra-paving. It is thus proved to be a wall homogeneous in construction, and not, as had previously seemed possible, of two periods. Its returns were more fully cleared, and we found that apparently it had not reached as far south as the *Scenae Frons*, but had been cut short at the point of intersection with the piers for the colonnade in front of it. What was thought to be a continuation past this point of the west return, in my previous report, proved to have only an accidental resemblance to a wall.

The most interesting discovery in connexion with the *Hyposcenium* was that of a series of deep pits sunk down into virgin clay just behind it.[1] The first was situated against the west return, just south of the angle, and in clearing it out we reached the bottom at a depth of 2·55 m. below that of the Orchestra-pavement (1·05 m. below the foot of the foundations of the *Hyposcenium*). The second was 6 m. east of this angle, the third almost exactly behind the central point of the wall, and the fourth lay 1·50 m. west of the east return. All four pits seemed to be definitely later than the foundations of the *Hyposcenium*, and to have had rough walls of cobbles projecting at right angles from the wall against which they were sunk. Their presence was recognised by the existence above each of Nos. 1, 2 and 4 of stones projecting from the wall, at the level of the top of the concrete foundation, so as to form a narrow rectangular socket set vertically, about ·20 m. wide, and of about the same depth from back to front.[2] The inner face of the socket of No. 1 was formed by a piece of an inscription (published below, p. 241, No. 32)

[1] These are denoted by the letters RP on the plan, Pl. XXVII.

[2] It has been kindly suggested to me by Dr. E. Fiechter that the original purpose of these stone sockets may well have been to hold timber uprights for the support of the wooden stage. The rubbish-pits would thus be later enlargements of the original post-holes below these sockets. This seems highly probable. A block with a square hole in it found at the west end of the central pier may have belonged to the same system.

which seems to be part of a list of magistrates little later, if at all, than the end of the first century of our era. These four pits were of uneven shape and unequal depth, and were full of damp, fine-washed silt, dark in colour and rank-smelling. The third pit, which was the deepest of all (nearly 2 m. below the foundations of the wall), yielded a large quantity of broken water-jars of Roman type, a ring-handled beaker of fine pink clay, in pieces, but permitting nearly complete reconstruction, and no less than 28 coins, two of silver, the rest bronze. The former consisted of a small coin of Argos (hemi-drachm, as *B.M. Cat.* 54, of 4th–3rd century B.C.), and a *denarius* of Antoninus Pius; and one of the few identifiable bronze pieces was a fine *sestertius* of Maximinus Thrax, most of the others being hopelessly corroded. The majority of them, however, seemed to belong to the second or early third century. The fourth pit yielded only a well-preserved *sestertius* of Antoninus Pius. The size of these pits and the nature of the finds in two of them leave no doubt that, whatever their original purpose, they had in fact served as rubbish-pits, and in all probability as latrines. That this use is later than the building of the *Hyposcenium* is certain, and the presence of the coin of Argos is of no chronological significance. It is equally plain that they must have been buried under the filling of earth, which, as we shall see, was laid over this area towards the end of the existence of the theatre. It must be assumed meanwhile that the period when they were in use is later than the building of the *Hyposcenium*, and (however insanitary) contemporary with the period when a wooden stage existed, for which the *Hyposcenium* formed the stage-front.

The west return of the *Hyposcenium* was found partly to rest on some earlier masonry (marked on the plan (Pl. XXVII) as D and clearly shewn in Fig. 4, centre), which had not been fully laid bare when my previous report was written. It consists of a short length of wall, running east-and-west with a northward return at the east end, partly concealed below the *Hyposcenium*-return; and is built of one good course of *poros* resting on a foundation of cobbles in clay. The upper surface is only ·03 m. above that of the Orchestra-paving, and the foundations rest in virgin clay. It cannot have extended appreciably further northwards, as it would have been cut off short by the masonry of the western Orchestra-drain, and we could not in any case trace it further without destroying the *Hyposcenium*-return. The western end of the main portion seems to

have been removed completely. In style of construction, and presumably in date, it is similar to the foundation in front of the west Parodos-wall, but it is narrower than, and not in line with, it. It has no connexion with the drain above mentioned, and there was nothing found corresponding to it at the east end of the stage. No immediate explanation suggests itself, for its construction seems to rule out the possibility of its having been the base for an isolated monument, and its position precludes our

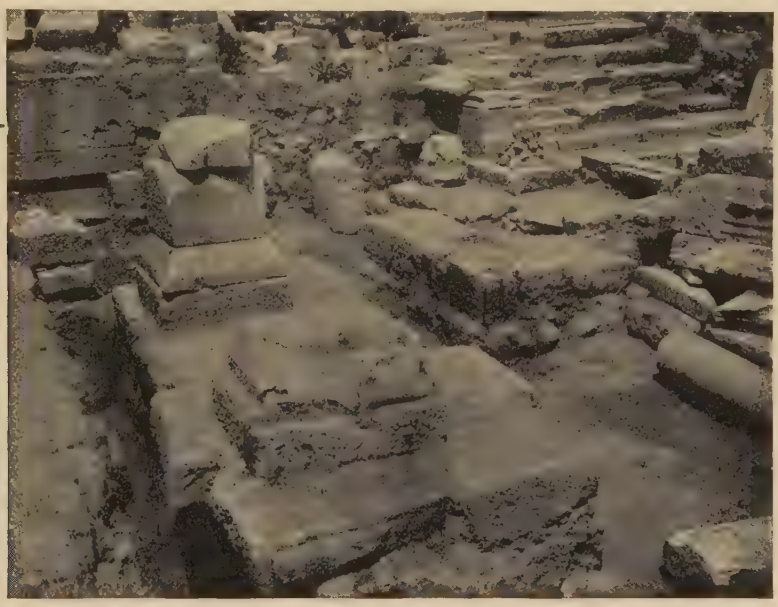


FIG. 4.—PIER OF WESTERN PAIR OF COLUMNS IN FRONT OF *SCENAE FRONS*.

restoring it as a rectangular structure from which the north and west walls are lacking as a result of destruction. It is not, however, impossible that it may be all that is left of the *Parascenium* on this side, and that we should restore it with a western extension of the east-and-west wall, and a southward return thence, to meet the wall C—C, which I shall next describe. It would thus belong to the earliest Imperial period of construction.

Much more definite results, on the other hand, were obtained by clearing the wall in front of the *Scenae Frons*, of which only a small portion had been found at the end of our second season (*B.S.A.* xxvi.

p. 148 f.).[1] This proved to have extended the whole width of the stage-region. Its northern face is practically flush with that of the three massive piers found in front of the *Scenae Frons* (*op. cit.* p. 145 f.); and when we examined the foundations of the wall itself and of the piers it was seen that, whilst the former consist merely of a shallow footing-course without mortar, the latter are formed of substantial rafts of rubble-concrete sunk to a depth of 1·80 m. below the soffit of the lowest course of *poros*-masonry. There can be no reasonable doubt that the piers are definitely later than the wall which they interrupt.[2] Evidence of later rebuilding at the west end of the wall was described in my last report (p. 148 f. and Fig. 12), and it seemed that rebuilding had taken place at the east end also, for the level of the last two blocks in this direction was higher by two courses than that of the original wall at the west end. Whereas, however, at the west end the west wall of the later stage (*op. cit.* pp. 149 and 152, and Fig. 12, *ibid.*) was carried over the early wall C—C, at the east end the corresponding east wall seems to coincide with the line of the return of the latter. The projecting footings shewn on the plan along its outer face are apparently formed by the return of C—C as heightened later. The existence of the drain from the Orchestra just beyond it shews that the return of C—C in its original form cannot have lain further east.

That we should regard the wall C—C as contemporary, and connected with the early wall behind the *Scenae Frons* (*op. cit.* p. 150, CC—CC on the new plan), of which we have now cleared the whole available length, seems definitely established. Of the latter, the construction is uniform, and nowhere is more than one course preserved above the foundations. Fig. 5 shews it clearly, running below the wall separating the western from the central of the three rooms behind the *Scenae Frons*, and intersected further east by the corresponding wall between the central and eastern rooms; beyond this it lies below the Byzantine cisterns, and then reappears again for a length of rather more than 7 m., but we have not followed it under the east wall of the later stage-buildings. On the west, also, we have not found its extreme end, but it was traced extending further westwards beyond the line of the Byzantine wall.[3]

[1] Denoted C—C on the new plan, Pl. XXVII.

[2] In addition to the interruptions caused by the three piers, a stretch *ca.* 3 m. long has been uprooted just west of the central pier.

[3] Similarly, we have not discovered a return of the north wall at this end, and later disturbances leave it doubtful if, as would be expected, it projected west of the Byzantine wall.

In my previous account of this wall, and of that just described, I left open the question whether they were earlier than the *cavea*, and so, by implication, of Hellenistic date. Our further study of these walls and of the *cavea*-foundations disposes us strongly to believe them contemporary, and to see in the former the remains of the first stage-buildings of the Imperial period. But we still lack *data* for the reconstruction of this building, and have no fresh clues to the interpretation of the puzzling channelled blocks built into the west end of the north wall (*op. cit.* pp. 148,

FIG. 5.—SOUTH WALL OF FIRST STAGE-BUILDING, BELOW THE FLOOR OF ROOMS BEHIND *SCENAE FRONS*.

150). If they were for rain-water, and therefore intended to carry off the drippings from a roof or possibly a colonnade, they cannot be in their original position and yet belong to the wall of the first Roman period, for there seems to have been no building from which rain could drip, at this date. They might very well, on this theory, be a later addition, to carry off rainfall from a later structure than the wall; and the fact that the bed of the channel lies a few centimetres lower than the top of the *poros* blocks of the three piers above mentioned seems to tell in favour of this explanation. On the other hand, if they are essentially part of the original fabric of the wall, they must have served some technical purpose in

connexion with performances at the theatre, which is quite consistent with our inference that the *Skenotheke* lay to the west of the stage.[1]

It remains to describe a short stretch of wall, marked 'Early Wall' on the plan (Pl. XXVII), which is situated slightly east of the centre of the stage-area, and has no connexion with any of the other walls which we have found. It is only preserved for a length of 2·80 m., and has a width of ·45 m.; two complete blocks of *poros* survive, and a small damaged fragment at each end shews that it was originally continued in both directions. The surface is disintegrated as a result of burning, but a shallow rectangular sinking, *ca.* 1 m. long by ·10 m. wide and ·07 m. deep, is still visible towards the west end of the wall on its south side. It runs at an angle of eleven degrees to the general east-and-west orientation of the stage-buildings, and was clearly cut short on the east by the building of the wall already described. This oblique wall rested on no foundations, and can scarcely have formed part of any substantial structure, but from its position, and from the fact that it was destroyed on the occasion of building wall C—C, we cannot avoid dating it earlier than any of the other masonry at the theatre. As its orientation forbids us to connect it with the Roman theatre at all, it must form the sole surviving trace of masonry of the Hellenic period at the site, but it is not worth while to offer conjectures as to its exact date or original purpose.[2] What it definitely shews is, however, of great importance—namely, that, prior to the building of the Roman-age theatre, part of the area occupied later by its stage contained a building differently orientated from those that succeeded it. That this was a part of the Hellenic—that is to say, presumably Hellenistic—stage seems reasonably certain; and leads to the conclusion that the *cavea* of the pre-Roman theatre was laid out to correspond, and thus faced eleven degrees west of the Roman theatre. Further examination of the substructure of the inner ends of the Parodos-walls has not

[1] Professor Dörpfeld, who paid a visit to the site in 1927, before this report was finished, tells me that he believes they represent the '*Scaena Ductilis*' (cf. Servius *ap.* Vergil, *Georg.* iii. 24; Dörpfeld-Reisch, *Griech. Theater*, p. 138; D.–S. *s.v. Machina*, p. 1468), and that in the early Imperial period there was no raised stage in the Sparta theatre. With all deference to an interpretation offered by so great an authority, I am still disposed to believe that these are merely rain-water channelings. With his other conclusion, as will be seen below, I fully agree, though I cannot suggest an exact date for the first raised stage. There may well have been a temporary wooden stage in use until the *Hyposcenium* was built.

[2] Can the threshold-like sinking have been meant to hold a πίναξ, in the intercolumniation of a colonnade? The width of the wall (·45 m.) is consistent only with a very small-scaled structure, in any case.

yielded any sure evidence of masonry which might have survived from the pre-Roman *cavea*; and indeed we have no real grounds for assuming that the latter was as large as in Roman times.

The Scenae Frons.

As a result of detailed study, this element of the stage-buildings has yielded more information than any of the others, and some of my previous statements must be materially altered. The upshot of our conclusions is represented on the plan, as far as possible, and will be better followed with the aid of the detailed sketch of the elevation attached to it.

The essential results are these: (1) that it was in reality a solid wall, 2·20 m. thick, and not two walls of different dates, of which that on the south was a later addition. (2) That this wall was originally pierced with a central doorway, flanked on each side by five other openings, placed symmetrically each side of the centre, but not spaced at equal distances from each other; these openings reached down to the lowest course of masonry above the foundations. (3) That at a later date all except two of these lateral openings were walled up to a height of *ca.* 1·40 m., and the wall between them was pulled down for a thickness of 1·15 m. from the front, so as to leave a shelf or ledge to carry the colonnade whose presence was previously recognised (*B.S.A.* xxvi. pp. 144 ff.). It was the appearance of the remains of this shelf which gave the impression of a double wall, before the full implication of the walled-up openings was realised.[1] The two lateral openings left unblocked were widened (presumably at the same time), and served as doorways opening through the decorated front of the *Scenae Frons*, with a width approximately equal to that of the central doorway. (4) That these three doorways had their threshold-levels raised at this time, to coincide with the level of the stage after it had been raised in connexion with the building of the *Hyposcenium*. (5) That this wall does not bond at either end with the walls running north and south, which, as was shewn in the previous report (pp. 150 ff.), and has been repeated above (p. 182), belong structurally to the building behind the *Scenae Frons*. (6) That in spite of the symmetrical arrangement of the openings, already mentioned, the wall is unsymmetrical in one important respect—namely, that the portion west of the original western-

[1] The remains of marble veneering above the level of the ledge (*op. cit.* p. 145) are now perfectly intelligible, for they represent the background behind the colonnade.

most opening is only ·70 m. wide, while that east of the easternmost is 1·45 m.; this anomaly is not easy to account for, except on the supposition that the western wall was deliberately built so as to cut off the extreme end of the *Scenae Frons*. The effect must have been that at this end the first of the plinths supporting the column-bases had its west edge against the bounding wall, whereas the first from the east end, which is preserved *in situ*, is separated by ·75 m. from the east wall.

Some of these points may with advantage be supported with more detailed evidence. First, the uniformity of the wall from back to front is seen by the homogeneous nature of the material of which its foundations are composed. This, as was pointed out previously, includes much broken-up marble, some pieces of which are from Doric column-drums, but there is no rubble-concrete used. Confirmation was afforded by the appearance of the masonry of the third opening from the east end, which we have reopened down to the early threshold-level; here we see the *poros* courses on the left of the doorway running through from one face of the wall to the other, obviously work of one period. The width of the openings and of the piers between them, beginning from that on the west, is as follows :—

	Opening.	Pier.
No. 1.	1·45 m.	·70 m.[1]
,, 2.	1·15 m.	1·25 m.
,, 3.	·90 m.[2]	1·30 m.[3]
,, 4.	1·10 m.	1·45 m.[4]
,, 5.	1·10 m.	3·68 m.
,, 6.	1·65 m.	1·44 m.
,, 7.	1·10 m.	1·44 m.
,, 8.	1·10 m.	3·68 m.
,, 9.	1·15 m.[5]	1·30 m.[6]
,, 10.	1·15 m.	1·20 m.
,, 11.	1·38 m.	1·30 m.
,, 12.	—	1·45 m.

[1] Originally 1·45 m. (?).
[2] Width in first period; widened later to 1·60 m.
[3] ,, ,, ,, ,, ; narrowed later to 1·10 m.
[4] ,, ,, ,, ,, ; ,, ,, ,, ·95 m.
[5] ,, ,, ,, ,, ; widened ,, ,, 1·60 m.
[6] ,, ,, ,, ,, ; narrowed ,, ,, ·85 m.

It will be seen that there are several small discrepancies in width between the pairs both of openings and piers, situated east and west of the centre, but their effect was probably diminished by the marble veneering with which the wall was faced. The only serious differences between two members of a pair, apart from that of the extreme end piers already described, is that of openings No. 3 and 9, where the difference is ·25 m. For these early openings, as set forth above, we have no convincing explanation to give, and it is hard to believe that the narrower ones served a practical purpose as doorways. Considering the wall as a series of piers, the narrow ones might each have corresponded to a single column, and the two wider ones to a pair of columns, spaced at regular intervals. A possible solution might be that such columns, or possibly engaged columns, stood not on, but in front of, these piers, on foundations which were removed at the time when the openings were blocked up. In favour of this suggestion is the discovery of several drums of Doric engaged columns, with remains of stucco coating, found outside the stage to the south-east. On the other hand, it is simpler to suppose that originally this wall had no columns, but carried an entablature on itself, the openings serving to reduce the effect of excessive solidity.

In the previous report (p. 144 f.) mention was made of the remains of marble plinths which have survived *in situ* from the colonnade carried on the remodelled wall; to the three there recorded two more must now be added, neither of which was preserved complete. One of them is just west of opening 5, and the other just east of opening 7. We have, unfortunately, obtained no further information as to the type of column or pattern of capital to associate with this colonnade, nor can we tell how it was treated at each end of the wall. We have, however, gathered *data* with regard to the doorways: the central opening, blocked in Byzantine times with a large piece of an architrave (Fig. 6), and other miscellaneous material, and approached from behind by the two rough steps described in the previous report (p. 151), has now been cleared, and the threshold-block came to light just below the architrave, at a level agreeing with that of the bases of the colonnade. This leaves no doubt that we have the central doorway of the stage-wall belonging to the period when the stage-level had been raised above that of the Orchestra. Unfortunately neither of the lateral openings had its threshold preserved, that on the west having been removed in Byzantine times when a street was

carried through the opening,[1] and that on the east may have been removed at the time that the cisterns were built behind the *Scenae Frons*, as their east wall projects partly into the space behind the doorway. We thus obtain, incidentally, a further proof for the late date of these cisterns, as their presence implies that this east doorway was no longer in use at the time they were built.

The reason for the widening of the original openings has also become clear, now that we realise that they are symmetrically placed, in their

FIG. 6.—STEPS LEADING TO CENTRAL DOORWAY OF *SCENAE FRONS*.
(The architrave-block is a Byzantine addition.)

wider form, to the openings between the pairs of columns standing on the piers in front of the *Scenae Frons*. We have described above the way in which these piers break the continuity of the earlier wall C—C, and in the previous report [2] attention was drawn to the very varied workmanship of the marble plinths which the east and west piers carried. We have since realised that the *poros* bases on which the plinths rest also shew signs of hasty work, not easy to account for. The central pier has some of its blocks rusticated on the outer face, but not all; the easternmost block

[1] The two massive *poros* blocks giving access to this doorway from the back are well seen on the left in Fig. 5; the vertical joint to the left is typical of the appearance of the blocked openings, and Fig. 6 shews another good example.

[2] P. 145 f.

has a rusticated face on its return only; that next it is rusticated, but the next two westwards are not so treated. That at the north-west corner is again rusticated, as is the western face of the block in the course behind. Somewhat similar irregularities were observed in the western pier, and, taken in conjunction with the uneven working of the marble plinths above them, we may question whether these piers ever carried columns at the level indicated by the *poros* blocks, which are almost exactly flush with the Orchestra-surface, in spite of the original intention that they should do so. It is hard to believe that such a patchwork as is represented by *poros* base-courses unevenly rusticated, carrying marble plinths of which the eastern pair was moulded and the western pair only chamfered, should be regarded as finished work, intended to be visible. If columns were erected on these bases, the *poros* course must have been hidden, and the intention to cut mouldings on the western plinths must have been interrupted. And a further difficulty arises in considering a restoration, for the position of these piers implies that they were meant to carry pairs of columns with entablatures projecting (presumably) from a row of columns behind them; otherwise the span from pair to pair would be of impossible length. But we require a colonnade behind them at the low level, for they cannot be connected with the late colonnade built on the raised *Scenae Frons*. Here again, then, we have a problem with no obvious solution; and the only workable suggestion seems to be that if this part of the plan were ever completed, these piers carried columns whose entablature projected from one carried on the plain wall of the *Scenae Frons*, as suggested above. For such a practice analogies can, of course, be found, *e.g.* at the west end of Hadrian's library at Athens.[1]

On the other hand, we need not hesitate to connect these piers, at a later stage of their history, with the colonnade carried on the raised *Scenae Frons*. What I had mistakenly thought to be Byzantine material,[2] in the shape of miscellaneous worked marble blocks, including part of an architrave, found on the central pier, now proves to be late Roman work, intended to raise the level of the foundations to the height required to equal that of the re-modelled *Scenae Frons*. The two square blocks

[1] Cf. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (Iwan von Müller, *Hdbch.*, iii. 2, 2), pp. 334 ff. and Fig. 12.

[2] *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 146.

(visible in Fig. 4) on the westernmost base of the west pier belong to the same period of reconstruction.[1] And if we attribute the granite columns (*op. cit.* p. 146 f.) to these bases, as seemed warranted by their finding-places, we have a convincing reason for the high level at which they were found. This broken-fronted façade will thus represent the last main phase of the history of the *Scenae Frons*, which may be assumed to have had a straight-fronted façade hitherto. The miscellaneous material used to raise the foundations for the three pairs of columns carried on the piers in front is only to be reconciled with the view that they must have been concealed in a filling of earth, which was enclosed, we must believe, by the *Hyposcenium* and its returns. Buried in this filling lay, among other marbles, the column-fragments described last year (*op. cit.* p. 146 f., Fig. 11) and the statue of Apollo (*op. cit.* p. 143).[2]

The Building behind the Scenae Frons.

The interior of this structure was fully cleared in 1926, except for the part occupied by the Byzantine cisterns, and calls for little description. Byzantine walls at various levels were planned and removed; none of these descended to the Roman occupation-level. In the westernmost of the three compartments into which the building was divided we came upon a floor of fine cream-coloured plaster at a level flush with the foundations of the *Scenae Frons*; and about ·60 m. deeper lay the early wall (CC) already described. The threshold in the south wall of this room was about midway along it, unlike that in the eastern one, which was situated about a metre (on centre) west of midway. Neither is exactly opposite to the corresponding lateral doorway in the *Scenae Frons*. The walls had clearly been faced with marble, none of which had been preserved, though the plaster backing for it was found at a few points, notably at the south-west corner of the west compartment. The wall-material includes much broken-up marble, and many pieces of brick and tile. The masons seem to have deliberately surrounded many of the small marble blocks with three tile fragments in roughly triangular arrangement, a feature not observed elsewhere in any of our concrete walls at the

[1] Perhaps the plinths too are re-used material, for on the central pier everything above the *poros* course is re-used marble, of a most miscellaneous nature.

[2] To be published later. There is, I think, no doubt that it represents Apollo, not Dionysos; and it seems to be a variant of the A. Lykeios type.

theatre. Among marble-blocks found built in was a well-cut Doric triglyph-block, of Laconian marble; and doubtless if the wall were pulled to pieces other architectural pieces would emerge in large numbers. In the interior no finds of importance came to light, with one splendid

FIG. 7.—ARCHAIC PITHOS, FOUND IN E. ROOM BEHIND STAGE.

exception. This was an archaic moulded pithos (Fig. 7) scarcely damaged, which was standing in the east compartment, near the doorway on the south, with its lip a few centimetres deeper than the soffit of the projecting foundation-course. It stood in a small hollow scooped out of the virgin soil, with its base roughly level with the soffit of the early wall (CC), and clearly had survived from the period associated with it, if not

from a still earlier one. Its function was plainly as a receptacle for water, for it had two small terracotta pipes in position, projecting one below the other from the neck, and running southwards, under the later Roman foundation, to join some drain at a level deeper than we reached, outside the wall. Whether it had served to catch rain-water from a spout, or as a filter on a line of pipes, cannot be decided, for we found no trace of a pipe-line leading to it.[1] Whatever its exact purpose, or by what freak of fortune it had survived undamaged in position, there is no doubt of the period to which we must assign it.

A fuller publication of this fine work of archaic art must wait for another occasion, but the following description may be given here with advantage: the height is *ca.* ·80 m., and the ornament falls into two parts, a heavily moulded neck and shoulder, and a frieze in relief. The details of the former appear clearly in the photograph (Fig. 7) and need not be described one by one; below a narrow band of vertical hatching is the main frieze, representing in low relief two pair-horse chariots driven at a walk to the left, with an armed hoplite walking behind each.

The charioteer is bare-headed, and beardless; his hair apparently falls in long plaits in front of his shoulders. He wears a short *chiton* to the hips and has his *himation* folded on his right shoulder, from which it hangs down evenly in front and behind. Both garments are decorated with a finely incised maeander. The warrior behind each chariot holds an upright spear, carries a round shield, and is girt with a sword; on neither of the shields is the design distinguishable. Each is bearded, and wears a crested helmet with cheek-pieces drawn down.[2] The legs and feet have perished, as has the near wheel of each chariot.

This decoration is limited to the front half of the pithos, the rest at this level being blank. Below the frieze is another hatched strip, below which come first a band of inverted tongue-pattern, and then a narrow triple horizontal line, below which, as a result of damage to the surface, no decoration is visible. The massive handles are broken away, but the stumps are preserved above and below.

Similar pithoi from Sparta are known hitherto from fragments only. The nearest parallel is the fragment in the Sparta Museum (No. 520),[3] which shews a charioteer apparently mounting a chariot. He resembles the one on our new pithos, in that he wears a *chiton*, with his *himation* falling over the right shoulder;

[1] Coarse clay jars used for the latter purpose have been found at more than one point in the vicinity of the theatre at Sparta. A good example found at Corinth near the Lechaion road is shown in *A.J.A.* 1927, p. 75, Fig. 3.

[2] The cheek-piece of the second warrior seems to be adorned with an animal's head in relief (perhaps a ram's?).

[3] *S.M.C.* pp. 223 and 235 (Fig. 82).

but he is on the same scale as the warrior behind him, whereas ours is only about three-quarters of his height, and the latter carries two spears in his left hand. On this piece the warrior's shield has a pattern of rays spreading from a central ring, in which is a small version of the same motive. The two bands of tongue-pattern above the figures seem exactly like those on the new example, and it seems probable that we should restore above it a neck treated in the same way. That the two examples may be grouped closely together is beyond doubt, and they may well be from the same workshop.

More ornate, and probably of slightly later date, is the fine piece found at the Heroön in two fragments, which came to light in 1906 and 1907,[1] where the neck is filled with an animated scene of combat, set in a frame of elaborate braid-pattern, and on the body is a pair-horse chariot driven by an armed hoplite, with a second warrior just stepping into the chariot to join him. The latter has two spears in his left hand, and with his right grasps the chariot-rail, and he is girt with a sword. His shield displays a cock as device, and a well-drawn hound walks, nose on ground, between his feet. A fragment found nearly a century ago at Magoula, and now in the Cabinet des Médailles, comes from the same mould as the neck-scene of this fine vase.[2] Other pieces of pithoi, of similar date but small dimensions, came to light in our excavations on the Acropolis in the past three years, and will be published when opportunity offers. There is now no ground for doubting that this group of objects is of Spartan workmanship, and the distinctly architectonic nature of the decoration of our new example brings it into close connexion with the architectural terra-cottas, of which important examples have been found both at the Orthia and Chalkioikos sanctuaries, for which we may likewise with some confidence claim a Spartan origin.[3]

The partition-wall between the western and central compartments, which had not been cleared when my previous report was written, lay where we expected it, and confirms our assumption that this area was divided into three rooms. Actually the length of the middle one is 10 centimetres shorter than that of the other two (10·50 as against 10·60 m.).[4] The door in this partition is, like that in the other, situated slightly north of the central line.

The projecting foundation-courses which were noticed in clearing the interior of these rooms in 1925 (*op. cit.* p. 151) proved, on clearing the

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 292 and Pl. IX. In the drawing the horses are shewn (restored) as of the compact fifth-century type; they should be much more archaic and attenuated.

[2] Cf. *S.M.C.* p. 223, Fig. 78; and refs. *ibid.*

[3] E. Douglas Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments*, pp. 18, 60 f., etc.

[4] The theatre at Aizanoi (cf. Fiechter, *Baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Antiken Theaters*, Pl. 88*a*, after Texier and Le Bas) offers a good parallel for a division of the area behind the stage into three rooms, subdivided later, it seems, into five.

outer face of the wall, to belong to a regularly laid footing of good squared blocks which underlay the whole length of the south wall, and stood out *ca.* ·30 m. for its whole length. It was also seen (cf. p. 190 above) that the east return exhibited a similar feature, though this was not verified for its southern half, as we should have had to destroy other evidence in the process; and the later fortification-wall prevented us from testing the west return for the same purpose. Another feature of the south wall is the series of four buttresses, one at each end, and one opposite the end of each of the two partitions. These are of very massive ashlar, and do not bond into the main south wall, though the projecting footing-course is carried round them, for the sake of uniformity. They and their footings must be presumed to be later than the rest of the building, as the latter did not go down as deep as those of the wall itself. Beyond the line formed by the front of these buttresses ran a street, along which ran three drains in the form of straight-sided channels built of cement, and covered originally with small flat tiles. These were at slightly different levels, that of the highest being ·20 m. below the floor-level in the western compartment, and the lowest lay *ca.* ·50 m. below it. In addition there was a drain of clay pipes, of the pattern familiar in Roman levels at Sparta. The width of the street was only 2·80 m. opposite the buttress at the east end of the wall, where we found confronting it a piece of wall of similar style, which may prove to form a buttress from another massive building across the street. The drains were also found further west in cleaning out the trench dug in 1906 at the foot of the late fortification-wall,[1] and we have thus verified that this street ran parallel to the east-and-west line of the stage-buildings as a whole. It must, however, be of late date, as it runs above the outflow of the drain from the Orchestra.

In clearing away the earth at various points behind the main wall, between the buttresses, we found, near the west end, another clay jar, with a pipe leading from its neck, but merely of coarse undecorated ware, and at a higher level than our pithos. Much more interesting was a fine male portrait-head, of about life-size, in white marble, which by its style, particularly the treatment of the eyes, can hardly be placed earlier than the middle of the third century of our era, and might even belong to the early Constantinian era. The subject is not recognisable, and bears no close resemblance to any identifiable imperial portrait.

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 396 ff.

We also found *in situ* against the west buttress the lower part of a herm of Herakles, in grey Laconian marble, standing on a square plinth. It is a poor and late piece of work, and when complete must have resembled those found in 1906 by Mr. Wace at the late Roman baths called 'Arapissa': [1] we may assume that each of the four buttresses was similarly adorned. From the easternmost buttress a still later wall, presumably of Roman date, sets off eastwards, as though a space had been subsequently enclosed adjoining the stage-buildings on this side. The wall was partly built of re-used pieces of engaged Doric columns of *poros*, with traces of their stuccoed facing still adhering in the flutes. I have suggested above that, if they belong to any of the stage-buildings (which must remain doubtful), they may have stood in front of the *Scenae Frons* at the first epoch in its history, for it is hard to see how to include them in a restoration of the stage in any later form.

Our study of the triple-roomed building behind the *Scenae Frons* has thus entirely confirmed our conclusions of last year—namely that its east and west walls returned past the end of the latter, and do not bond into it.[2] What is new is the discovery that its west return must have cut off the western end of the *Scenae Frons* for some three-quarters of a metre, giving it its present asymmetric form; and that the northern end of the east return, at the point where it lies above the east end of the early wall C—C, formed at a late date the south jamb of the Parodos-passage of the theatre. The destruction caused by the building of the late fortification-wall has prevented our verification of this for the western return. How high these returns were carried cannot be proved; but it is not impossible that they carried a return at each end of the late colonnade on the *Scenae Frons*, for which their width would have just sufficed. We must note in conclusion that the inner face of the east return was originally veneered with marble like that on the west, which shows that at the time it was built the wall was exposed down to its base. Unlike the western end, this area did not shew signs of having been treated as a separate room in the final period in which the theatre was in use.[3]

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 412 and Fig. 2; cf. *S.M.C.* 442*a*, *b*.
[2] *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 152.
[3] *Op. cit.* 148 f.

Chronological Conclusions.

In the light of our new evidence we may advantageously try to put into order the various phases of the history of the stage-buildings, without minimising the difficulties of the task.

(1) *Pre-Roman Period.* No certain evidence for size or plan of *cavea.* Its orientation presumably eleven degrees west of that of Roman *cavea.* Stage represented by short piece of wall (' Early Wall ' on Plan), similarly orientated.

(2) *First Roman Period. Cavea* as a whole, including external staircase on east, as now found. Stage-buildings in form of a long narrow building 5·20 m. in depth from back to front, internally. Length at least 34 m. and apparently more, as the south wall continues at least 5 m. west of the limit of the later stage. To this period also belong the foundations of the (presumed) colonnade in front of the west Parodos and of the wall which may have belonged to the *Parascenium,* in front of the main stage-building near its west end. Date of this work as a whole, probably the Augustan age.

(3) Dedication of a colonnade (at the west of the stage (?)) in the reign of Vespasian (*I.G.* v. 1, 691).

(4) Erection of *Scenae Frons,* originally in form of a plain wall pierced with a central doorway, flanked by five more narrower openings on each side, which must have rendered useless the south wall of the earlier building (period 2). Date uncertain, but probably not later than Antonine period.

(5) Three concrete piers sunk on line of front wall of period 2, to carry columns standing in front of the *Scenae Frons,* approximately at Orchestra-level. This plan perhaps abandoned before completion.

(6) Level of stage raised—or, rather, first raised stage employed, presumably of wood. *Scenae Frons* turned into solid wall with continuous colonnade along it, at level of 1·40 m. above Orchestra. Level of central doorway raised to correspond, and two of small lateral openings widened to serve as doorways flanking it.

(7) Stage-area narrowed by *ca.* 5 m. at each end, and *Hyposcenium* built leaving a space of *ca.* 6·70 m. between its inner face and the front of the *Scenae Frons.* Date uncertain, but probably not later than A.D. 250.

(8) Rooms behind *Scenae Frons* built, with returns projecting north-

wards beyond line of *Scenae Frons*; Parodos-passage on east narrowed, by respond built against the face of the Parodos-wall; level of drain around Orchestra and of pavement in east Parodos raised to correspond.

(9) Piers originally designed for period No. 5 now heightened, and three pairs of granite columns erected on raised bases to carry projecting entablature from colonnade on *Scenae Frons*. By this time (wooden?) stage carried on filling of earth reaching to foot of bases carried on these piers and of plinth-course of *Scenae Frons*.[1] Simultaneously, perhaps, area west of *Hyposcenium* turned into separate room (at higher level than Orchestra, but lower than stage proper), which was approached by three steps from the Orchestra; and buttresses added to south wall of building behind *Scenae Frons*.

So much seems a legitimate interpretation of the structural remains, but we have further to consider the evidence of inscriptions, and of the few historical facts affecting Sparta as a whole in the Roman Age. The architectural inscriptions, apart from the architrave with the name of Vespasian, are either undatable, or belong to the last century in the history of the theatre. I do not mean to do more than allude to them briefly here, as they will be fully published in a later report, but certain of them contain valuable indications of date. Unfortunately, of none of them is there enough preserved to enable us to restore the contents in full or to calculate the length, even approximately, of the architrave or cornice on which it was engraved.

1. Approximately datable are (*a*) two blocks of an architrave, the first of which is moulded also on the left-hand end, and clearly gives us the beginning of the inscription: [*Ἐπι*]*φανεστάτοις καὶ ἀνδ*[*ρειοτάτοις Αὐτοκράτορσιν* - - or *Καίσαρσιν* - -]; the second block reads [*Γαλ*]*ερίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Μαξιμιανῷ*. This may be from a dedication in honour of Diocletian and Maximian as Emperors and of Constantius and Galerius Maximianus as Caesars, or possibly from one in honour of all four as Augusti. In the former event it will date from some year in the period 293–305; in the latter case it cannot be earlier than May 1st, 305, and must be placed between that date and May 5th, 311, the date of the death of Galerius.[2] As it is hardly likely that any more of this inscription will be found, we must

[1] Rubbish-pits behind *Hyposcenium* covered over at this date.

[2] For the dates given, cf. W. Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares Imp. Rom.*, p. 118 f., following Mommsen, *Jurist. Schriften*, ii. pp. 300 ff.

content ourselves with the wider limits, 293–311, for its date. (*b*) Fragment of an architrave, of similar type, but with different surface-dressing, and slightly smaller lettering: *καὶ Φλ. Ὀνορίῳ* - -. This again is not to be restored with absolute certainty, but the use of the *praenomen* suggests that Honorius was not yet Emperor, and that the missing portion contained the names perhaps of Valentinian II, Theodosius and Arcadius, as in the inscription from Antinoupolis (Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 723). If so, it will date from between 384 and 394. If, in spite of this indication, it should refer to him as Emperor, it might belong to any year between 395 and 408 inclusive.[1]

2. Two other less datable texts are the following: (*c*) two architrave-blocks, which do not join, put together from several fragments: - - *ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν*[. - - - - - - . . *ἀ*]*πὸ Διοσκούρων, ἱερέως κατὰ γένος* - -. The type of lettering, especially the four-stroke *omega*, resembles that of (*a*) above, but I do not think, in view of the slight differences of dimensions and in the profiles of the mouldings, that the two inscriptions can belong together.[2] It is possible that the titles are those of S. Pompeius Eudamos, son of Onasikrates, or of some close relative, for no other family known to us at Sparta combines the title of High-Priest of the Emperors with descent from the Dioskouroi. If this should be restored to refer to Eudamos himself, the date will be approximately A.D. 200–240.[3] The other inscription worthy of mention is engraved in a distinctively late type of lettering, on numerous fragments of a cornice. No continuous sense can be made of the contents, and the order of most of them is quite uncertain. The following pieces give us recognisable remains of sense: (1) *Τοῦ θεάτρου·* (2) . *τοῦ πετάσου παν*[*τός*]· (3) [*κατὰ πρόσ*]*ταγμα δὲ* - -. This may plausibly be attributed to a construction dating from the fourth century, distinct, on grounds of lettering, from those associated above with Galerius and Honorius respectively. The restoration [*πρόσ*]*ταγμα*, probable in itself, becomes almost a certainty in connexion with the mention of a *πρόσταγμα* of Ampelius, the Proconsul of Achaia,

[1] The *καί* shews that it cannot have been in honour of Honorius alone. If he was coupled with Arcadius, the latest possible date would be 408.

[2] One half of this inscription [. . *ἀ*]*πὸ Διοσκούρων*, etc., was published by Tillyard (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 461, No. 13(*a*)), who coupled it with a much-worn piece (*b*) to which it cannot belong. This is accepted by the editor of the *Corpus*, who gives a more correct reading of (*a*), but his conjunction of the two cannot stand. The lettering of the two portions differs both in style and spacing.

[3] Cf. *I.G.* v. 1, 559.

in reference to building-operations at the theatre, in an inscription published in my last report.[1] And, as I have there suggested, these inscribed cornice-blocks may most naturally be ascribed to the Stoa mentioned in that document.

These four inscriptions thus give us evidence of building operations consisting, we may assume, of the erection or re-erection of colonnades for the adornment of the stage-buildings, at the following dates: early third century, *ca.* 300, *ca.* 360, and *ca.* 390. We must not assume that each represents a complete re-modelling of the columnar decoration of the *Scenae Frons*, nor can we even tell whether some may refer to the lower or upper storey only. It is, however, worth noting here that the inscribed cornice-blocks which I associate with the rebuilding under Ampelius in *ca.* A.D. 360 have cuttings above as if a row of statues had stood immediately on them. Unfortunately we cannot bring these four inscriptions into certain connexion with any of the building operations represented by the changes tabulated above, though it is far from unlikely that the granite columns on the heightened piers carried the cornice which I attribute to the period of Ampelius, just mentioned. If mere conjecture is permissible, I should be disposed to connect the inscription dating from the early third century with the colonnade on the raised *Scenae Frons* (No. 6 above), and that dating from *ca.* 300 with the extensive re-modelling represented by No. 8 above.

The inscriptions of non-architectural character, apart from the πρόσταγμα of Ampelius, to which allusion has just been made, shed no light on reconstruction. These are, namely, the series engraved on the east Parodos-wall, to the chronological significance of which I drew attention in my previous report (pp. 153, 161 ff.), and that on the rain-water channel running round the Orchestra (*ibid.* pp. 200 ff.). They merely shew respectively that the E. Parodos-wall was standing, and had begun to be inscribed with lists of magistrates, etc., as early as the end of the first century of our era, and that the Orchestra-drain was first used for a similar purpose not more than a generation later.

Individual statue-bases found in the vicinity of the theatre must not be used indiscriminately for chronological evidence, as they may have been brought from elsewhere; but we may legitimately make an exception in favour of the bases of the statues to Gaius and Lucius Caesar,[2] which

[1] *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 225 f., No. 20. [2] *B.S.A.* xxvi. pp. 154 and 205 f., Nos. 3 and 4.

must, on this view, have been erected early in the history of the Augustan rebuilding of the site. Nor can we leave out of account the statue-base containing the epigram in honour of the Proconsul Anatolius, found *in situ* in front of the east bastion (see p. 186 above, and p. 245, No. 35). This does not expressly allude to building operations at the theatre, but contains the interesting phrase *Σπάρτην τ' εὔανδρον τεῦξεν ἐρειπομένην.* As we shall see below, it dates apparently from the reign of Valens, and may very possibly refer to the damage caused by the great earthquake of 375.[1]

The evidence of historians helps but little to illuminate the history of the theatre at Sparta under the Empire. It seems to justify us in ascribing to Eurykles the inception (and completion?) of the building, an ascription with which the architectural data well agree. It gives us no further help towards the history of the construction, but, on the other hand, informs us of at least three occasions on which destruction may have befallen the theatre. The first is the raid of the Heruli, in A.D. 267, which is known to have devastated Sparta,[2] and the inscription which names Galerius may well point to rebuilding carried out in his reign after destruction sustained in 267. It would not be surprising that Sparta had been so badly crippled by this misfortune that the site of the theatre had lain to some extent desolate in the interval.[3] The second disaster is the earthquake under Valens, already mentioned, and the third is the Gothic raid under Alaric in 396, in which Sparta seems to have shared the disastrous fate of most of the cities of Greece;[4] with this catastrophe we must, I think, associate the building of the fortification-wall along the west flank of the stage and the west Parodos, which served later as part of the Byzantine fortress.[5] If the theatre was used again for its original purpose after the year 396, it could only have been for a very few years,

[1] Zosimos, iv. 18 (cf. v. 6), tells us that Athens was the only city of Greece to escape this disaster.

[2] See Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Heruli, especially col. 1154.

[3] This inference makes more intelligible the presence of the rubbish-pits behind the *Hyposcenium* (cf. p. 187 f. above).

[4] Zosimos, v. 6; and in general, Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, iii. p. 396 f.

[5] This was the conclusion reached by Traquair, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 428 f.; who, however, dates this portion of the wall just after the invasion of the Goths. I would rather see in it a work of defence thrown together when the invasion was impending. Additions made in the Byzantine period, as regards the walls in the region of the theatre, must, I think, be dated later than the eighth century, to which he would attribute the latest work, in view of our lack of Byzantine coins of an earlier date than Basil I. (867–86).

for our coin-series appears to stop abruptly with Arcadius and Honorius,[1] and we have no fresh evidence to lead us to alter our conclusion that from about 400 onwards the site of the theatre lay desolate and water-logged for more than four centuries.

A. M. WOODWARD.

[1] Pending the final cleaning and identifying as far as possible of all the coins from the site, this conclusion is not absolutely certain, but hitherto no recognisable piece later than the reign of Honorius has come to light.

EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1926.

§ 3.—The Inscriptions.

(a) *From the Theatre.*

The campaign of 1926 was rewarded by no very important discoveries in the department of epigraphy, but interesting documents of many different periods came to light.[1] The completion of the task of excavating the East Parodos brought to light several more complete blocks which had fallen from the inscribed portion of the wall, and more than a dozen small fragments, some of which, as will be seen, prove to join blocks or fragments found previously. We found, moreover, that the wall of the bastion carrying the outer staircase bore four inscriptions *in situ*, of which the longest (F 3) is also for its contents the most valuable of all the inscriptions from the wall. At the south-west corner of the bastion we also found *in situ* a rough columnar statue-base bearing an elegiac epigram, inscribed over the remains of an earlier text, also metrical, but almost entirely erased (No. 35). Two decrees of Hellenistic date, from each of which substantial portions have survived,[2] an incomplete archaic dedication by an athletic victor (No. 37) and two statue-bases of Imperial date (Nos. 33, 34) are the most interesting of the miscellaneous finds. A few small additions to our—by now considerable—number of inscribed blocks from cornices and architraves will be published later, in conjunction with a study of the architectural marbles as a whole, for which further work on the site is still required.

[1] Most of these here published are from my own copies, but Mr. H. Box, student of the School, gave me valuable assistance in copying and making squeezes of the inscriptions found whilst he was present at Sparta.

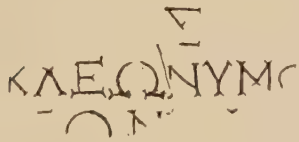
[2] These are being reserved for further study, and will, it is hoped, be published in the next volume (*B.S.A.* xxviii.).

The Acropolis yielded few inscriptions, but the three here published (Nos. 38–40) are interesting, if short, documents of the late sixth or early fifth century B.C., and I am reserving for further study a decree of Hellenistic date, of which most of the sense can be recovered, put together from seven fragments found in a late Roman wall just behind the centre of the *cavea*. The same region yielded also a large number of broken-up pieces from a monumental Latin text, which also requires fuller study before it can be published; and further fragments of both these inscriptions may well be forthcoming in our next season's work.

I. INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE EAST PARODOS-WALL (*continued*).

(i) Fragments which join inscriptions already published (*B.S.A.* xxvi. pp. 160 ff.).[1]

C 6, 7*. Two small adjoining pieces; complete above, but l. 1 is lost from that on left. Letters *ca.* ·026–·03.



[*Εὐάμερος Ἀρίωνο*]ς.
[*Ἐπιτυγχάνων*] Κ̣λεωνύμο̣[*υ*.]
[*Σωκλείδας Κλ*]ε̣ω̣ν̣[*ύ*]μ̣[*ο*]*υ*.

The presence of the name Kleonymos here twice in successive lines, and the additional facts that the stone is complete above and that the entry in l. 1 contains five letters less than that in l. 2, exactly fit the requirements of the fragment lost from the beginning of Col. II. of C 6, 7. The correctness of the attribution was satisfactorily verified on the spot, as the fragments fitted convincingly to the block *in situ*.

As the list concerned is a duplicate copy of the roll of the Gerousia given in *I.G.* v. 1, 20 B, the names need not delay us.

E 1*. Complete block. H. ·385; br. 2·025; th. *ca.* ·66. Letters ·034–·036. The middle portion of the inscribed face was not dressed smooth before being engraved. Small pieces are missing from each corner on the left. (Found in front of the wall, *ca.* 6 metres east of its west end.)

[1] The publication reference is repeated, with an asterisk after the number.

[Ἀ]ν̣τίοχος < τὸ β′.
Τι. Κλ. Ἁρμόνεικος τὸ β′.
Ἀλεξίμαχος Σωτηρίχου.
Ἄλκαστος Τειμοκρίτου τὸ β′.
(5) Τειμοκλῆς Θεοδότου τὸ β′.
Σωκλείδας Κλεωνύμου.
Χ̣αλεῖνος <.

Ἱεροκλῆς <(Ἐ)νυμαντιάδα̣ κά(σεν).
Νεικίας Τεταρτίωνος.
Νεικοκλῆς Δα(μ)ίππου.
Ἀριστοκλῆς Καλλικράτους νε(ώτερος).
Γ(ραμματεὺς) Β(ουλᾶς) Πολλίων Ῥούφου.
Ν(ομοδείκτας) Σωσίδαμος < φ^Σ.

(Col. II. l. 1, ΣΝΥ in error for ΕΝΥ; l. 3, ΔΑΝ for ΔΑΜ. No lines over abbreviations.)

This is the companion-block to 1, E 1 (*B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 170), and contains the rest of the list of *Γέροντες* under *Γ. Ἰούλιος Φιλοκλείδας*. The full list is known already (*I.G.* v. 1, 97), but, as was pointed out in publishing the first half, some of the names which were uncertain owing to damage to the previously published stone prove to have been wrongly restored. The following discrepancies between the new copy and the old may be noted: Col. I. l. 1, *Ἀντίοχος* < here omits *Ζευξίππῳ κάσεν*; l. 2 (as also ll. 4, 5, 6, 7, and Col. II. ll. 2, 3), names are here spelt with *ει* in contrast to *ι* alone there; l. 5, *Θεοδότου*, but in v. 1, 97, l. 18, *Θεοδώρου*, the latter clearly preferable;[1] l. 7, *Χαλεῖνος* < here omits *Ἐνυμαντιάδα̣ κάσεν*.

Col. II. l. 3, *Νεικοκλῆς Δαμίππου* proves to be the right reading, v. 1, 97, l. 23 being wrongly restored as [*Ἱερο*]*κλῆς Δ*[*εξ*]*ίππου*; the bearer is hitherto unknown. L. 5, the name of the secretary is here spelt *Πολλίων*, but in 97, l. 25, *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 167, 1, C 2, l. 4, and again below, E 9*, as *Πωλλίων*. As we have now three examples of his name occurring without *praenomen* or *nomen*, it seems clear that we should emend the passage in v. 1, 97 to [*Γραμμ*]*ατε*[*ὺς*] *Β̣ου. Πωλλίων*, etc., in place of [*Γραμμ*]*ατε*[*ῖς Γ.*] *Ἰού*(*λιος*) *Π.*; l. 6 enables us to restore correctly l. 26 of v. 1, 97, though the surviving traces of the letter before the final Σ were read as belonging to an Α. The name of the *νομοδείκτας*, *Σωσίδαμος* <, is by now well known; cf. 1, A 5, B 4 (γ), E 3, and below, E 31. Our new version omits the entry relating to the *μάγειρος* at the end of the list. For the unexplained symbols *Φσβ* (?) cf. 1, B 6, E 4, etc.

E 9*. Two adjoining fragments which fit on to E 9 below and on

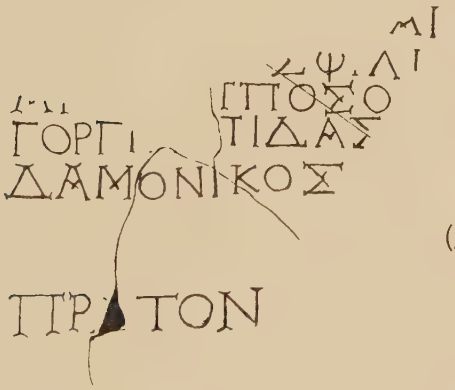
[1] *Τ. Θεοδώρου, νομοφύλαξ ἐπὶ Κλεοδάμου* (*B.S.A.* xxvi. 1, B 2) must be the same man.

r. respectively; the latter is much split owing to the presence of coarse crystalline formation in the marble, but is complete above.

Νομοφύ[λ]ακες [ἐπὶ - -, ὧν πρέσβυς]
Πωλλίων Ῥού[φου.]
Πό. Μέμμ[ιο]ς - -
Κ - - - -

For *Πωλλίων* see above. We cannot identify the Eponymos of this year, but he cannot be far removed in date from Philokleidas under whom Pollion was Secretary to the Boule, or from Spartiatikos under whom he was Ephor (1, C 2); the order in which he held these three posts cannot be determined. In l. 4 there seemed to be faint traces of *αλ* or *λα* after *Κ*, but they do not shew on the squeeze.

E 15*. Fragment joining E 15 on l.; complete below and on l. H. ·29 (over all); br. *ca.* ·15; th. ·32, broken at back. Letters *ca.* ·028–·031.

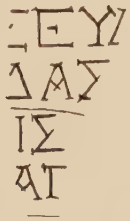


- - - - - ατ - - .
- - - - ς Φιλί[ππου.]
Ἀχ[ήσι]ππος Ὀ[νασίωνος(?).]
Γοργι[π]πίδας - - .
(5) *Δαμόνικος - - .*
(vacat)
Πρ[α]τόν[ικος - - .]

If the block was *ca.* ·38 high, there must be ·09 (probably three lines) lost from above. About eleven letters are missing from before those preserved in l. 1, and seven or eight from before the Σ in l. 2. In l. 3 the choice of name is limited to *Ἀγήσιππος*, *Ἀρήξιππος*, or *Ἀρίστιππος*, and in view of the patronymic beginning with O the suggestion *Ἀχ[ήσι]ππος Ὀ[νασίωνος]*, names which are found in E 35 below, becomes extremely likely. The other persons here mentioned are not identifiable.

If the gap after l. 5 indicates the omission of a name, we have a list of at least eight names in all, which can only belong to a roll of the Gerousia.

E 20*. Small fragment, complete below, which joins the lower edge of E 20. Dimensions of combined fragments: h. ·17; br. ·095. Letters ·03; in last line ·026.

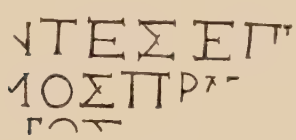


- - ς Εὐδ[α - -
- - ι]δας - - -
- - ισ - - - - -
- - αγ (or απ) -

No restoration seems possible.

(ii) New blocks and fragments of East Parodos-wall.

E 28.[1] Small fragment, complete above only. H. ·18; br. *ca.* ·40; broken at back. Letters ·028.



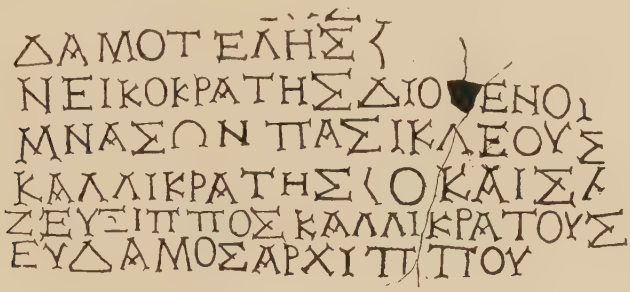
[Γέρο]ντες ἐπὶ[- -ῶν πρέσβυς]
. . . . μος Πρατ[ο - - .]
. . . . πος - - - - .

Two alternatives, neither very satisfactory, are possible for the completion of l. 2, namely [*Εὔδα*]*μος* or [*Σίτι*]*μος Πρατ*[*ονίκου*]. The former is unknown, though there may well have been such a person, who might have been father of *Πρατόνεικος Εὐδάμου*, the fifth of the Nomophylakes in *I.G.* v. 1, 20 B, and likely to have been President of the Gerousia at about the date when his son held his more modest post. The alternative, which is also unimpeachable on chronological grounds, is practically ruled out, as Sitimos son of Pratonikos is President of the Gerousia in the year of G. Jul. Agesilaos (*B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 170, 1, E 2); we should then have to suppose that he was twice holder of that honour, an event

[1] The system of numbering is continued from *B.S.A.* xxvi. pp. 160 ff.

not unparalleled at Sparta, but involving a bold assumption.[1] The alternative that this is another copy of the list of Gerontes of the year of Agesilaos is excluded, as the second name clearly ends in *-πος*, whereas in E 2 it is *Κόϊντος* ‹.

E 29. Large fragment, complete below and on l., broken through. H. ·21; br. ·515. Letters vary between ·018 and ·028.



- - - · *ης Δ* - - -
Δαμοτέλης ‹.
Νεικοκράτης Διο[γ]ένου[ς.]
Μνάσων Πασικλέους.
(5) *Καλλικράτης* ‹ *ὁ καὶ Σα[πφίων.]*
Ζεύξιππος Καλλικράτους.
Εὔδαμος Ἀρχίππου.

Four complete lines are probably lost from above, making it plain that this was a long list which could only be part of a roll of Gerontes. We have no clue to the Eponymos of the year, but an approximate date is furnished by some of the names.

L. 1, quite uncertain. L. 2, *Δαμοτέλης* ‹ is found also in v. 1, 152, as a member of some unidentified Board, probably under Trajan or Hadrian. L. 3, Neikokrates is hitherto unknown, but perhaps a brother of *Φιλοκράτης Διογένους* in v. 1, 51, l. 16 f., and an equally likely restoration, in *B.S.A.* xxvi. 1, E 23, l. 6, where I suggested [*Φιλοκρ*]*άτης Διο*[*γένους*]. L. 4, *Μνάσων Πασικλέους*, already known as *ἀγωνοθέτης* in A.D. 97 or 98 (v. 1, 667, l. 10 f.), and as *νομοφύλαξ ἐπὶ Κλεοδάμου* (*B.S.A.* xxvi. 1, B 2, l. 4), might very well be a member of the Gerousia in

[1] For an instance of a man acting more than once as *πρέσβυς Γερουσιας*, see v. 1, 101.

the early part of Hadrian's reign, if not even earlier. L. 5, *Καλλικράτης* < *ὁ καὶ Σαπφίων* is another familiar personage, thanks to some acute restorations by Kolbe, in v. 1, 162, 163, and 189, though his exact date is still obscure. I have not traced elsewhere either of the last two names; but Eudamos might be a brother of - - *ς Ἀρχίππου*, in *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 174, 1, E 26, l. 8, where the name required has nine letters in all, Eudamos being too short to fill the gap.

E 30. Complete block; the upper r. corner was found broken off and has been replaced. H. ·353; br. ·73; th. ·47. Letters *ca.* ·04, rather clumsy and irregular.

Τ. Κλα. Βακχύλος <.
Ἀγάπητος Χαριξέ(ν)ου.
Γραμματεὺς Βουλᾶς
Πολύ(ξ)ενος <. Π Ι ΣΒ
Β
Φ
Σ

(L. 2 ends ΘΕΗΟΥ; l. 4 begins ΠΟΛΥΣΕΝΟΣ.)

The presence of the name of the *γραμματεὺς Βουλᾶς* makes it almost certain that this is from the end of a list of the Gerousia, of an unidentifiable year. The Secretary must surely be the same as the *Πολύξενος* < who is an Ephor in the year of Atticus (*ca.* A.D. 134), v. 1, 62, l. 6; but I cannot explain the letters after his name, unless *B* possibly stands for *βουαγός*, which is added after his name, in full, in the other inscription. The monogram *β φ σ* may be only an accidental variant of the *φ σ β* found elsewhere in this series (cf. E 1*, above).

Neither *Βακχύλος* nor *Ἀγάπητος* is a name previously known in Spartan inscriptions,[1] though the latter is found at Messene (v. 1, 1467).

E 31. Large block, complete above and below; the corners are lost from the left, and a piece *ca.* ·30 wide is lost from the inscribed face on the r.; a small piece, identified later, belongs to the gap in the lower r. corner. H. *ca.* ·355; br. ·915; th. ·325. Letters *ca.* ·032, but in second name in l. 8 *ca.* ·023.

[1] The former is not rare elsewhere, *e.g.* Michel, *Recueil*, 839, l. 101; *Inschr. v. Magnesia*, 93, l. 106.

[Νομ]οφύλακες ἐπὶ Γ[α]. Ἰου. Χαριξ[ένου, ὧν πρέσβυς ?]
Π[ρ]ατόνεικος Ἐννύχου.
Λουιάδας Ἀριστοκράτου[ς.]
Γά. Ἰού. Δαμοκλῆς Καλλικλεί[δα.]
(5) Ἀριστοκράτης Καμίλλου.
Πό. Μέ. Μελίχρους Ἐπαφροδ[είτου.]
[Γραμ]ματοφύλαξ Κλέων Σω[σικράτους.]
[Νομοδείκτας Σω]σίδαμος[<] Ἀγαθοκ[λεῖ κά(σεν)?.]

The only known Eponymos of the name of G. Julius Charixenos is to be found in v. 1, 32 A, l. 5; 83; and 1314 (at Thalamai). His presumed *cursus* in v. 1, 33 rests on very doubtful evidence.[1] From his position in the first of these inscriptions he must have held office in the reign of Hadrian, perhaps in A.D. 126. We shall see, however, in the next of our new inscriptions (E 32) that the year of Charixenos must have fallen just earlier than that of G. Julius Philokleidas, who must be dated to the reign of Trajan. I can only suggest that there must have been two Eponymoi of the same name, one of whom held office under Trajan, and the other under Hadrian.[2] And this assumption is supported also by the fact that we know two bearers of the name of G. Julius Charixenos, who are sons respectively of Aristodamos (*I.G.* v. 1, 508, and No. 34 below), and of G. Julius Lysikrates (v. 1, 275). The latter has been generally assumed to have been the Eponymos mentioned in v. 1, 32 A, etc., but even this must now be regarded as uncertain.

L. 2. This bearer of the common name of Pratoneikos is unknown; his father's name Ἔννυχος is, however, unusual, the only other certain instance at Sparta being in v. 1, 193, l. 2 (where Kolbe compares such names as Πάννυχος (v. 1, 150)).[3]

L. 3. Λουιάδας is hitherto unknown at Sparta, but an earlier bearer of the name will be found in No. 34 below. It is very tempting, however, to restore it in v. 1, 103, l. 5, in place of Kolbe's [Εὐτελί]δας Ἀριστοκράτους, seeing that in this list of members of the Gerousia, of unknown year, a colleague is Ἀριστοκράτης Καμίλλου, who is one of his fellow-Nomophylakes in l. 5 of our present list.

L. 4. Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Δαμοκλῆς Καλλικλεῖδα is quite unknown; this is, in fact, the only Damokles hitherto found at Sparta who has Roman citizenship.

L. 5. For Ἀριστοκράτης Καμίλλου see *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 177.

L. 6. Πό(πλιος) Μέ(μμιος) Μελίχρους Ἐπαφροδ[είτου] must now be restored

[1] Kolbe's reconstruction of the text is based partly on his mistaken restoration of the name of the Eponymos in v. 1, 59 as Hadrian, instead of Μενίσκος; cf. *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 187.

[2] Titus Flavius Charixenos, Eponymos in v. 1, 34, l. 6, and, probably, *B.S.A.* xxvi. 1, E 12, and p. 198, is not to be confused with either of these, though closely contemporary with the earlier of the two.

[3] Cf. Ti. Claudius Ennychus, at Rome (Dessau, *I.L.S.* 3008).

in v. 1, 148, l. 1. Fourmont, who alone saw this stone, copied the name as ΜΕΛΙΧΙΟΥΣ, but Kolbe, transcribing it as Μελίχιο[[υ]]ς, and indexing it as Μειλίχιος (*sic*), has led us still further astray. The name in the form Μελίχρως is already known in Laconia, at Asopos (v. 1, 958, 959).

A comparison between the names that follow, on the two stones, shews that ll. 1–4 of v. 1, 148 are, in fact, a duplicate version of ll. 6–8 of our new list, and that (as I pointed out, *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 177) in l. 4 of the former we must restore Ν(ο)μ(οδείκτας) Σωσίδαμος <, followed by, perhaps, Ἀγαθ[οκλεῖ κάσεν]. I restore the latter phrase tentatively in our present version.

This list gives still more evidence for the chronological affinities of several of the texts on and from the inscribed wall. We now have found Sosidamos serving as Νομοδείκτας under the following Eponymoi: L. Volussenus Aristokrates (1, A 5), G. Julius Philokleidas (E 1), Damokles (B 4(γ)), G. Julius Charixenos (E 31), and an unknown year (E 3), and may surely conclude that his tenure of the post in these five lists shews that, whatever their relative order, they must fall within a very few years, and that lists in which some other man serves in that capacity must be either earlier or later than this group (Ἀγαθοκλῆς in B 2 and C 3(α), and Στράτιος (C 1)). Actually it seems that they fall earlier, as I tried to shew in regard to the year of Kleodamos, B 2 (*B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 183); and the unknown Eponymos in C 1 must be earlier than the year of G. Julius Agesilaos, since Σείτειμος Πρατονείκου, πρέσβυς in the latter year is an ordinary member of the Gerousia in the former, about half-way down the list. It is probable that not many years elapsed between Agesilaos serving as Agonothetes (v. 1, 667, in, or soon after, A.D. 97) and as Eponymos, so we can hardly put Agesilaos after the series of Patronomoi under whom Sosidamos was Nomodeiktes; they must belong to the second decade of the second century, and he, and *a fortiori* the Eponymos under whom Stratios served, cannot be later than the first decade.

E 32. Large block, lacking both lower corners and a small piece from the upper corner on l.

[*Νομ*]*οφύλακες ἐ*[*π*]*ὶ Φιλοκλείδα, ὧν πρέσ-*
[*βυ*]*ς Ἀλεξικράτῃς* <, *γόνῳ δὲ Λυσίππου.*
[*Δαμοκ*]*λῆς* < *ὁ καὶ Φιλοκράτης.*
[*Κλέων Σω*]*σικράτους καὶ γραμματοφύ*(*λαξ*)
(5) [*ἐπὶ Γα. Ἰουλ. Χαρι*]*ξένου.*
[*Ἀριστοκλῆς Λυ*]*σίππου.*

The sign after the first name in ll. 2 and 3 is ʒ, not < as is more usual.

Two other copies of this list exist already, v. 1, 51 and 52, but the

new version, though omitting the fifth member of the Board, *Τυχαῖος* ‹, and possibly the name of the *γραμματοφύλαξ*, gives us the correct reading for the name of the *πρέσβυς*. It is now clear that we must expand the symbols ΓΟ ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΥ in v. 1, 51, l. 30 as *γό(νῳ)*, in place of Kolbe's *τ̣ο[ῦ]*; and the same explanation surely applies to the mutilated entry in v. 1, 103, l. 3, where ΑΤΗΣ ‹ Γ̅ΛΥΣΙΠ is transcribed [. . . . *κ*]*ρ̣άτης* ([. . . . *κ*]*ρ̣άτους*) *Γ*(*αΐῳ*) *Λυσίπ*[*πῳ κάσεν*], instead of [*Ἀλεξικ*]*ρ̣άτης* ([*Ἀλεξικ*]*ρ̣άτους*) *γ*(*όνῳ*) *Λυσίπ*[*που*], in a list of Gerontes probably a little later than the year of Philokleidas. This Alexikrates is the only Spartan who uses such a formula in reference to his parentage.[1] We must suppose that he was adopted by, and took the name of, Alexikrates the elder, whilst recording that his father's name was Lysippos.

L. 3. We know nothing of the career of this Damokles beyond his tenure of the post of Nomophylax here, and his appearance once in the roll of the Gerousia, v. 1, 103, l. 10, just mentioned. For his son and grandson cf. *B.S.A.* xxvi. pp. 184 and 203.

L. 4. This entry would have been puzzling but for our possessing the list of Nomophylakes under Charixenos (E 31), for it can at once be seen that [*Κλέων Σω*]*σ̣ι̣κράτους* is not recording that he was *γραμματοφύλαξ* under Philokleidas, but that he had been holder of that office under Charixenos. Thus the letters ΞΕΝΟΥ which alone remain in l. 5 can be convincingly restored as [*ἐπὶ Γα. Ἰου. Χαρι*]*ξένου*; moreover, we know from v. 1, 52 that the Grammatophylax of the former year was *Νεικιππίδας Δαμοκλέους*.

Whether the list continued on to another block or its last name was crowded into the missing lower right-hand corner is doubtful. In the latter case there would barely have been room for the name and title of the Grammatophylax as well. It is hardly disputable that the year of Charixenos in which Kleon held this office must have immediately preceded that of Philokleidas. It seems most unlikely that his allusion to the fact that he held it under the former could be a later addition to our present text, as he would not have found l. 5 blank for the purpose of completing his entry.

That the list could have been engraved retrospectively, a year or

[1] It is common at Athens under the Empire (*I.G.* iii. has over a dozen examples) and is found there at times earlier (*I.G.* ii., three examples). For adoption in general *vide* Pauly-Wissowa, and Dar.-Sagl. *s.v.*

more later, is not, however, impossible; in this event, which is a needlessly unlikely assumption, Charixenos might have come just after Philokleidas.

E 33. Complete block, found near the last two. H. ·393; br. ·90; th. ·59.

Νομοφύλακες ἐπὶ Δαμο-
κλέους,
Γά. Ἰού. Λυκοῦργος Κλέωνος.
Ἄσκλαπος ‹.
(5) *Λύσιππος Φιλοχαρείνου.*
Γά. Ἀντώνιος Ὠφελίων Ἀγλάου.
Τιβ. Κλαύ. Ξε[ν]ο̣φάνης Ἁρμονείκου.

The Eponymos must be the same as in *B.S.A.* xxvi. 1, B 4(γ), where we have the list of Ephors of his year; he is son of the Nomophylax of the same name in the previous list, who (as far as we know) never was Eponymos, and father of the Patronomos in v. 1, 65 (as restored in the light of *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 201, 2 (β)).

The only new name is the first, and it is very tempting, and on chronological grounds not rash, to recognise in him the Λυκοῦργος mentioned in *B.S.A.* xxvi. 1, A 3–5, l. 1, as having been Eponymos six (or more?) years before L. Volussenus Aristokrates.[1] Whether he was in any way connected with the family in which father, son and grandson in succession bore the name Kleon (v. 1, 138, *stemma*) is unknown, but a possible descendant may be recognised in (Γ.) Ἰούλιος Κλέων in v. 1, 116, l. 1.

Ll. 4–6. These three names occur close together in v. 1, 114, a list of the Gerousia of some year not much, if at all, earlier than 150. The copy made by Leake shews room for more than one letter lost between A and O in the first name, giving rise to the incorrect restoration Ἀσκλα[πι]ός ‹. We may also suggest that Ἑρμογένης Ἀσκλάπου, in *B.S.A.* xxvi. 1, A 3–5, Col. IV. l. 4 may be brother of the present man. The next name, Λύσιππος Φιλοχαρείνου, raises a difficulty, for we find the same name borne by a Nomophylax under P. Memmios Spartiatikos (v. 1, 85, l. 15 f.), apparently in the time of Antoninus Pius (cf. v. 1, 71, Col. III. l. 1), and we have no certain instance hitherto of a man having been more than once Nomophylax. It is unthinkable that there were two bearers of the name Philochareinos, each with a son called Lysippos, and nearly contemporary, and we must suppose that this apparent rule had occasional exceptions. Our supposition is confirmed by finding that Γά(ϊος) Ἀντώνιος Ὠφελίων also seems to have been Nomophylax again many years

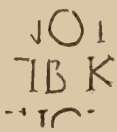
[1] Cf. *op. cit.* p. 175. The absence of *praenomen* and *nomen* from the name on that stone is not a serious argument against identity.

later, for in v. 1, 89,[1] dating from A.D. 147 (cf. v. 1, 446), we have his name in the list of holders of that office. It seems accordingly that a man might serve twice as Nomophylax, at any rate after a long interval.[2]

The name Ἄγλαος, which, we now learn, was that of the father of Ὠφελίων, was previously unknown at Sparta.

L. 7. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ξενοφάνης Ἁρμονείκου is probably identical with Ξενοφάνης Ἁρμονείκου who is ἔνσιτος of the Board of Nomophylakes in the year of Kleandros, v. 1, 79, l. 14 f., which must also date from the reign of Trajan (cf. *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 197, E 5).

E 34. Small fragment, with damaged surface, from upper l. corner of a block. Letters ·025.



Ṇομ[οφύλακες ἐπὶ - -]
Ṭιβ. Κ[λα - - -]
Γ[ά.] Ἰοὺ - - - .

This cannot be combined with any other block or fragment.

E 35. Large block, damaged on r., and with some slight surface-injuries. H. ·37; br. ·96; th. ·63–·71 (the back is cut away unevenly, tapering from r. to l.).

Βίδυοι ἐ[π]ὶ Γα. Ἰου. Κλεάνδρου, ὧν π[ρέσ]-
βυς Ἀγήσιππος Ὀνασίωνος.
Δαμοκλῆς Φιλοκράτους.
Γά. Ἰού. Φιλήτωρ Σωσικράτους.
(5) *Γά. Ἰού. Ἀγαθοκλῆς Πολυ[εύκτου.]*
Κλεόδαμος < Νεόλ[α κάσεν.]
Πασικλείδας Ἐπ - - .

We possess already the lists of Ephors and Nomophylakes for the year of Kleandros in *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 171, 1, E 5, and *I.G.* v. 1, 79 respectively. His exact date is not easy to fix, but we have good indications for it belonging to the early part of the reign of Trajan if we study the names contained in these three lists.

[1] In view of the copy in v. 1, 446, Ὠφελίωνος in v. 1, 89 must be an error of the engraver, possibly for Ὠφελίων τὸ β'.

[2] I may be wrong, after all, in postulating the existence of two bearers of the name Ἀγαθοκλῆς Στεφάνου in *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 183, in reference to 1, B 2. In view of the new evidence perhaps the same man served twice—admittedly after a long interval—under Kleodamos and Aphthonetos, though his *cursus* only mentions the latter tenure (v. 1, 32 A).

L. 2. Ἀγήσιππος Ὀνασίωνος, whose name I have tentatively restored above, in E 15*, l. 3, is otherwise unknown,[1] but the similarity of names justifies my suggestion that he is a brother of Ἀγησιππία Ὀνασίωνος who married Κλέων ⟨ (II, cf. v. 1, 502 and *stemma ad* No. 138); the latter's career falls under the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.

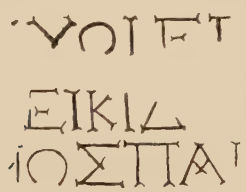
L. 3. Δαμοκλῆς Φιλοκράτους is certainly the Eponymos of E 33 above (*q.v.*). In his *cursus*, v. 1, 32 B., he does not, however, mention his tenure of the post of Biduos.

L. 4. Γά(ϊος) Ἰού(λιος) Φιλήτωρ Σωσικράτους is also known as γυναικονόμος in the year of Nikokrates (*B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 165, 1, B 1 (*β*)), who must belong to the reign of Trajan (cf. *op. cit.* pp. 178, 190). We cannot tell how long elapsed between his tenure of these two posts, nor even which he held first.[2]

L. 5. Γά(ϊος) Ἰού(λιος) Ἀγαθοκλῆς Πολυ[εύκτου], otherwise unknown, must be brother of Γ. Ἰούλ. Σειμήδης Πολυεύκτου, πρέσβυς ἐφόρων under Damokles in *B.S.A.* xxvi. 1, B 4(γ), and alike recipient of v. 1, 507 and dedicator of v. 1, 588.[3]

Ll. 6, 7. Neither of these persons is known elsewhere, but Kleodamos, or possibly his father, may well have been the Eponymos of *B.S.A.* xxvi. 1, B 2, cf. p. 183. Two other persons who describe themselves as Νεόλᾳ κάσεν (v. 1, 95, l. 11, and 136) must belong to an earlier generation.

E 36. Two small fragments, of which (*a*) is complete above only, and (*b*) is broken on all sides. There is no certain join, but they clearly belong close together, and no line seems lost between them. Letters ·032–·034.



(*a*) [*Βίδ*]*υ̣ο̣ι ἐ̣π*[*ὶ* - -]

(*b*) [- - - - *ν*]*εικίδ̣*[*α* - -]

- - - *μ̣ος Παν̣* - - -

The name in l. 2 may be *Δαμονεικίδας* or *Ἀριστονεικίδας*. If the latter, it could hardly be *Ἀ. Μουσαίου*, as he is found in another list of *Βίδυοι* (*B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 166, 1, B 5), in the year of Lysimachos.[4]

[1] He might have been related (brother?) to *Ὀνησίων* ⟨, *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 164, 1, A 3–5, col. iii. l. 7, in spite of the different vowel used for the third letter.

[2] *Γυναικονόμοι* may be presumed to be elderly, but so may *Βίδυοι* have been sometimes.

[3] Cf. *B.S.A.* xxvi. pp. 184, 189[3].

[4] More than one *Ἀριστονεικίδας* is known at this period. A man could, however, be *Βίδυος* more than once; cf. *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 203[4].

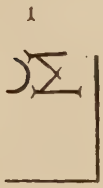
E 37. Small fragment, complete above only. H. ·06; br. ·17. Letters ·026.

- - ἐπὶ Λυσι - -
(blank)

E 38. Small fragment, complete above. The inscribed surface has flaked off for a height of ·14, so that the first three (or possibly four) lines are lost. H. ·185; br. ·15. Letters *ca.* ·03(?).

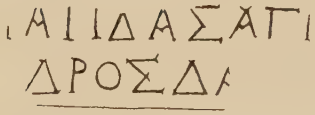
[- - κ]λ̣ῆς Φ̣ι - -

E 39. Small fragment from lower r. corner. H. ·14; br. ·075. Letters ·03.



- - - I
- - ος.
(blank)

E 40. Fragment, complete below only. H. ·095; br. ·25. Letters ·025.



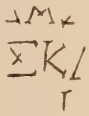
[Δαμοκ]ρα̣τίδας Ἀγι[άδα.]
[. . . . αν]δρος Δα̣ - - - .

The first name is a safe restoration in the light of v. 1, 31, which gives us the *cursus* of Damokratidas son of Agiadas, and he appears also as Nomophylax under Kleandros, in v. 1, 79. The last name is not recognisable.

E 41. Small fragment, broken on all sides. H. ·072; br. ·11. Letters ·028.

- - ος Π - - .
(blank)

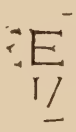
E 42. Small fragment, broken on all sides, and surface injured. H. ·135; br. ·095. Letters ·028.



- - δας - -
- - σκλ - -
- - ι - -

Quite hopeless. The third letter of l. 2 looks more like Δ, but must have been Α or Λ. We must read either *e.g.* [Ἄ]σκλ[απος, *vel sim.*, or - ς Κλ (or Κα).

E 43. Small fragment, broken on all sides, and surface much flaked. Ht. of inscribed face ·10. Letters in l. 2, ·029; in l. 3, ·022.



- - - - . - - -
- - - σε . - - -
- - - - ιλ - - -
- - - - - . - - -

A faint trace of l. 1 shews that we cannot read in l. 2 [γέροντε]ς (*vel sim.*) ἐ[πί - -].

E 44. Complete block, with a small space dressed smooth in the centre to receive the inscription. H. ·375; br. ·74; th. ·49. Letters ·024.

ΑΠΟΛΙΣ
//ΙΚΛΑΜΕΝΕΚΛΙ
ΔΑΝΕΥΔΑΜΟΥ

Ἁ Πόλις
[Τ]ι. Κλαύ. Μενεκλί-
δαν Εὐδάμου.

The recipient is unknown. This is the only inscription from the wall which exhibits this formula, more appropriate to a statue-base.

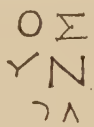
The dimensions, however, make it almost certainly one of the wall-stones.

The following two fragments, both found at the west end of the stage, may have belonged to inscribed blocks of the W. retaining-wall.

E 45 (2800). Upper r. corner, broken on l. and below. H. ·15; br. ·07; th. ·06. Letters ·043.

- - *ίδα.*
(*vacat*)

E 46 (2857). Perhaps complete above, where is a cutting (for a dowel?); broken at sides and below. H. ·095; br. ·065. Letters ·02—·025.



- - *ος* - -
- - *σ]υ̣ν* - -
- - *ρ̣α̣* - - .

(iii) F 1–4. Inscriptions *in situ* at the east end of the supporting-wall of the exterior staircase (*B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 132, and above, p. 184).

F 1. In the third course above the torus-moulding. H. *ca.* ·385; br. ·92. Letters ·028. Surface of block much worn, and lower left corner lost.

ΕΦΕΠΙΚΛ̄ΒΡΑΣΙΔΑΩΝΤΓ///'//
Τ/ΛΟΣΠΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΟΥ
ΚΛΣ ΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΣΜΕΝΙΣ:////
ΡΟ///ΟΣ-////ΑΜΟΥΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΙΔΑΣ
//////////^ΕΟΥΣ

Ἔφ(οροι) ἐπὶ Κλ(αυδίου) Βρασίδα, ὧ̣ν̣ π̣[ρ(έσβυς) Πρα-]
τύ̣λος Πρατονίκου.
Κλ(αύδιος) Σ̣ω̣κράτης. Πολύβιος Μενίσκ̣[ου.]
Ῥο̣[ῦφ]ο̣ς̣ Ε̣[ὐδ]άμου. Φιλοκρατίδας̣
(5) *[Ἀγαθοκ]λ̣έους.*

This Eponymos, who is identical with the *Κλ. Βρασίδας* recorded in *I.G.* v. 1, 46, l. 6, and perhaps in 302, l. 4 (restored), cannot be the same as the man of this name who acts in a similar capacity on behalf of *Θεὸς Λυκοῦργος* (*τὸ ια'*) in v. 1, 312, but may have been his father.[1]

The senior Ephor has also recorded his *cursus* in v. 1, 46, but unluckily the beginning of his name is lost, and Fourmont's copy of his name, ... ΤΥΛΟΣ | . . . ΤΟΝΙΚΟΥ, has remained uncompleted. In spite of his indication that four letters are missing before the Τ, and the uncertain evidence of the present stone, where nothing seems lost before the Τ in l. 2 (*init.*), the identity is certain; and I would restore the name as [*Πρα*]*τύλος*, which is known at Sparta, with the *nomen Αὐρήλιος*, in v. 1, 684, and also at the Hyperteleatic Sanctuary, v. 1, 1020. The name of his father is too common to permit us to trace him elsewhere. We may accordingly now restore v. 1, 46, ll. 1–2 as [*Πρα*]*τύλος* [*Πρα*]*τονίκου*; l. 6 f. as [*ἔφ. ἐ*]*πὶ Κλ. Βρασίδα*, [*ν*]*ο*(*μοφύλαξ*) *ἐπὶ Ἰου. Ἀγαθοκλέους*.

No other member of the Board is recognisable, but it is permissible to complete ll. 4–5 as *Φιλοκρατίδας* [*Ἀγαθοκ*]*λέους* with the aid of v. 1, 116, l. 3, where the bearer of the name is a member of the Gerousia in a year just later than the Parthian campaigns of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus; the year of Brasidas will thus fall in the decade 160—70, or perhaps late in the previous one.

F 2. On the block adjoining F 1 on the right. H. ·385; br. ·98. Letters ·028.

A piece from the right-hand end had split off, but has been found and replaced, since the photograph of F 3, below, was taken.

////_ΑΡΙΟΣ ΦΩΣΦΟΡΟΣ	[. *Ο*]*ὐάριος Φώσφορος*
///_ΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΣΥΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ	[*γ*]*ερουσίας, συνγυναικονόμος,*
ΣΥΝΠΑΤΡΟΝΟΜΟΣΘΕΩΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΩ	*συνπατρονόμος θεῷ Λυκούργῳ,*
ΣΥ ΝΘΥΤΗΣΠΟΤΙΟΛΟΥΣ ΝΕΑΝΠΟΛΙΝ	*συνθύτης Ποτιόλους Νέαν πόλιν*
ΠΡΟΙΚΑΤΗΚΥΡΙΑΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ (5)	*προῖκα, τῇ κυρίᾳ πατρίδι.*

The *nomen* is almost certainly Varius, the rare alternatives Ancarius and Salarius not leaving us room for the *praenomen*.[2] No other person of the name

[1] *Pace* Kolbe, *I.G.* v. 1, p. 131, *stemma Claudiorum*.

[2] The remains of the letter before the *alpha* are apparently from an *upsilon* with a rather long apex-stroke at the base of the *hasta*.

of Φώσφορος is known at Sparta, though it is not a rare name in Imperial times, and is occasionally found earlier.[1]

For such compounds as συνγυναικονόμος and συνπατρονόμος cf. No. 31 below, where we have συναγορανόμος, and v. 1, 1317 for the participle συνεφορεύων (at Thalamai, fourth or third century B.C.). For γυναικονόμοι at Sparta see *B.S.A.* xxvi. pp. 165, 168, 208, 210, Nos. 1, A 12; B 1 (β); C 8; 6 and 9; and cf. p. 181.

We cannot date Phosphoros closely enough to be certain if his joint-tenure of the Patronomate with the Divine Lycurgus relates to the first, or one of the later years in which the latter was elected to this office;[2] the first would suit quite well our general chronological indications for this group of inscriptions.

The construction in l. 4 is weak, as we should have expected συνθύτης εἰς—as in v. 1, 47, l. 4, and 1, F 4 below, or the name of the festival in the genitive, as in *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 167, 1, B 9, l. 7. Festivals held at Puteoli and Naples are well known from many sources. The references here are presumably to the Εὐσέβεια ἐν Ποτιόλοις founded by Antoninus Pius in memory of Hadrian[3] and to the Augustalia (Σεβαστά)[4] respectively.

For τῇ κυρίᾳ πατρίδι cf. *I.G.* v. 1, 692 (and *O.G.I.* 595, l. 3, in the genitive, perhaps merely in error, *vide* Dittenb.'s note *ad loc.*). This and the final formula of the following text shew that the subjects of these two *cursus* regarded their records as dedications—the former of patriotic, the latter of religious aspect—rather than as mere chapters of autobiography, which distinguishes them from all the other inscriptions belonging to the theatre-wall.

F 3. On a long block, in the course below F 1 and F 2. H. ·373; br. 1·84. The letters are very neatly cut and gradually diminish in size, the eight lines in Col. II. occupying only the space of ll. 1–6 in Col. I. The text is complete except for some slight chips lost from the upper edge.

[1] In Greece, *O.G.I.* 345, l. 15 (Delphi, first century B.C.); *I.G.* iii. 1016, l. 4; 1091, l. 51; 1250, l. 6. In Italy, as Phosphorus, *C.I.L.* vi. 24167 (= Dessau, *I.L.S.* 8484); xi. 5374 (= *I.L.S.* 3322), as Phosporus; vi. 8724 (= *I.L.S.* 7733), C. Jul. Posphorus; these three men are presumably of Greek extraction.

[2] The earliest occasion seems to have been soon after the middle of the second century, *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 191; the second may have been soon afterwards; cf. *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 112 ff.; xxvi. pp. 175, 191 f.

[3] Cf. *I.G.* iii. 129, l. 16. This seems more likely than the Βουθ(ο)ύσια mentioned in the letter from the Tyrian residents of Puteoli (*I.G.* xiv. 830 = *O.G.I.* 595 = *I.G.R.* i. 421, l. 11).

[4] Founded in A.D. 2; cf. *I.G.* iii. 129, l. 17, and *I.G.* vii. 49, l. 24; but in *I.G.* iii. 128, l. 12 f. we hear of a victory won Νέαν πόλιν—[Εὐ]σέ[β]εια. See also Strabo, v. p. 246; Suet., *Aug.* c. 98; Dio, lv. 10; *I.G.* xiv. 746, 747, 748; *Inschr. von Olympia*, 56. *C.I.L.* xii. 3232 refers to their celebration under Hadrian (cf. *I.L.S.* 5082, and note 4).

FIG. 1.—*CURSUS HONORUM* OF G. JULIUS THEOPHRASTOS (F 3). (Scale 1 : 17.)

Col. I. *Γά(ϊος) Ἰούλιος Θεόφραστος Θεοκλυμένου,*
βουαγός, διαβέτης, ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου, ἐν
ᾧ καιρῷ ἀνέθηκα ἀνδριάντας β′, ἕνα μὲν τοῦ ἐν θε-
οῖς Ἁδριανοῦ, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον τοῦ Δήμου τοῦ Λακεδαιμο-
(5) *νίων, ἀγορανόμος ὅτε ὁ ἐν θεοῖς Ἁδριανὸς πρώτως*
ἐπεδήμησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν, πρέσβυς νομοφυλά-
κων, σειτώνης ἐν σπάνει ὅτε ὁ μέδιμνος ἐγένετο ✱ μ′, καὶ
ἔδωκα διανομὴν πᾶσιν ἡμίεκτον ✱ α′, ἔφορος ὅτε ὁ ἐν θε-
οῖς Ἁδριανὸς τὸ β′ ἐπεδήμησεν, γυμνασίαρχος ἐπὶ Ἀφθο-
(10) *νήτου, ἀγοράσας τὴν ὑδρίαν ✱ λ′ καὶ θεὶς τὸ ἔλαιον ἐν*
Col. II. *γυμνασίῳ, ἐν ταῖς θερμαῖς ἑλκυστόν, ἐν τοῖς Μαχανί-*
δαις, καὶ παρέσχον ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν πᾶσιν λέντια ξῦστρα,
πατρονόμος, ἵππαρχος, Κυθηροδίκας ὑπὲρ Ἀττικοῦ, γυμνασίαρ-
χος ἐν τοῖς ιβ′, βίδεος δ′, γραμματεὺς Βουλῆς, πρεσβευτὴς εἰς
Ῥώμην β′
(15) *προῖκα καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πολλάκις, καὶ παραπράσεις ποιησάμε-*
νος πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς ἐπείγουσιν καιροῖς, ἄρξας τὴν τῶν γερόν-
των ἀρχὴν δ′, καὶ δὶς γενόμενος πρέσβυς συναρχίας, θεοῖς εὐχαρι-
στήριον.

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Θεόφραστος Θεοκλυμένου, the subject of this record, is already known from five inscriptions, all of which, I feel sure, refer to him: *I.G.* v. 1, 157, l. 5, where I would restore [Ἔφοροι ἐπὶ Γα. Ἰ]ου. Θεοφράστου|[Γά. Ἰού. Νικήφορ]ος Μάρκου, in place of Kolbe's [- - - τ]οῦ Θεοφράστου; in v. 1, 167, l. 4, as member of an unidentified Board in which the name preceding his is followed by προσστάτης [τῆ]ς ἀναθέσεος (*sic*), and his own is followed, after one other, by the names of two (or more) σπονδοφόροι; v. 1, 506, where he receives a statue from the State for his generosity as Gymnasiarch;[1] *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 167 f., 1, B 9, and C 5, where he appears twice as Eponymos. This identification rests on the following evidence: v. 1, 157 contains in its opening lines the end of the list of Nomophylakes of the year of M. Ulpius Aphthonetos, as was proved by our discovery of another copy (*B.S.A.* xxvi. 2(γ) and p. 204); and our new text confirms the information that Theophrastos was Eponymos soon after Aphthonetos. It would not be necessary to suppose that the two lists contained in v. 1, 157 belonged to successive years. The allusion to an ἀνάθεσις in v. 1, 167 fits in well with the mention of statues dedicated by Theophrastos in ll. 3 ff. of the new text, and his generosity as Gymnasiarch, in ll. 9 ff. of the same, is well matched by his receipt of the statue recorded in v. 1, 506.[2]

His father Θεοκλύμενος, in view of the rarity of the name, is in all probability the senior Ephor of the year of (Ti. Cl. ?) Spartiatikos (*B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 167, 1, C 2).

L. 2. This is the first certain epigraphical evidence for a priesthood of Zeus Olympios at Sparta, but we have allusions to the cult in v. 1, 406 where Διὸς Σωτῆρος Ὀλυμπίου is almost certainly to be interpreted as in honour of Hadrian, identified with Olympian Zeus, and v. 1, 445, which reads Ζανὶ ἐλευθερίοι καὶ Ὀλυμπίοι Ἀντωνείνοι σωτῆρι, indicating that Pius had in this instance inherited the identification with Zeus Olympios, as well as with Zeus Eleutherios, which is found in so many inscriptions at Sparta (v. 1, 407–444). Having regard to the statue of the Emperor which he erected during his priesthood, we may fairly assume that Theophrastos was priest of Zeus as personified by Hadrian. It is strange that amid all the inscriptions of the age of Hadrian only one (incomplete) base of a statue to the Emperor has come down to us (v. 1, 405), whilst we possess no less than twenty-four small altars dedicated to him (*ib.* 381–404). The statue of the Spartan People may perhaps be that mentioned by Pausanias.[3] For ὁ ἐν θεοῖς Ἁδριανός, which occurs three times in all in this inscription, cf. *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 165, 1, A 12; in saying there that I knew of no parallel for this method of reference to a deceased Emperor, I was not aware of a similar phrase in an inscription from Lindos (*I.G.* xii. 1, 786 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1150), τετειμημένος - - - ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν θεοῖς

[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 189.

[2] Cf. *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 189, and note 1. That the use of the phrase εὐτυχέστατοι καιροί is no proof of a date under M. Aurelius or later is shewn by *I.G.R.* iv. 1398, where it is applied to the reign of Hadrian, in an inscription from Smyrna, dated to A.D. 124.

[3] iii. 11, 10; cf. Frazer, *Paus.* iii. p. 329.

Αὐτοκρατόρων, which is not datable, but cannot be earlier than Trajan or perhaps Hadrian.[1]

Ll. 5–6. The dates of Hadrian's visits to Sparta are now fixed pretty exactly (early in 125, and late in 128, or possibly early in 129).[2] The only inscriptions previously known which make definite allusions to his visits were *I.G.* v. 1, 32 A, ll. 9–12, and 486. The absence of the words εἰς τὴν πόλιν in reference to the second visit need not raise doubts that Hadrian visited Sparta on his second stay in Greece, for that he did so seems the only possible meaning of the passage in v. 1, 32 A, and πρώτως in l. 5 of our present text must imply two visits to Sparta.

Ll. 7–8. The evidence for σ(ε)ιτωνία at Sparta, which is not extensive, is given in *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 178, but the activities of Theophrastos in the capacity of σειτώνης merit more extended notice. For the phrase σειτώνης ἐν σπάνει cf. v. 1, 526, l. 4 f., and for a periphrasis cf. l. 16 below.[3] The interesting fact that he purchased corn for re-sale to the citizens at the cost of 40 denarii the *medimnos* is an entirely new *datum* for the price of this commodity in Greece itself under the Empire. He sold it or rather 'gave a distribution' to all at one denarius the ἡμίεκτος, *i.e.* at 12 denarii the *medimnos*, thus losing 28 denarii on each, exclusive, we may perhaps infer, of the cost of freight. If we only knew, even approximately, the population of Sparta at the time, we could better estimate the total cost of his generous distribution.

The question of the normal price of corn under the Roman Empire is too complicated to justify discussion here, and a reference must suffice to Rostovtzeff's article *Frumentum* in Pauly-Wissowa, and to the evidence gathered in his recent book.[4] We may, however, profitably notice two documents of outstanding importance in this connection, namely, the inscription from Antioch in Pisidia published by D. M. Robinson (*Trans. Amer. Philol. Assocn.*, 1925, pp. 5 ff.) and Sir W. M. Ramsay (*J.R.S.* xiv. pp. 179 ff. No. 6), where the price of corn in time of famine is regulated by L. Antistius Rusticus, *Leg. Aug. pro praetore*, in about A.D. 93, after a requisition of the available grain in the city, at a maximum of one denarius the *modius*, which is double the price current before the famine. The relation of *modius* to *medimnos* being as 1 : 6, we see that the controlled price comes to six denarii per *medimnos*, in comparison with the 12 denarii which is regarded as a favoured price in the distribution by Theophrastos. The other evidence is in a papyrus dated to August 125 (*B.G.U.* 843), where the price of Egyptian corn, given in Alexandrian drachmae, is calculated as equivalent to $2\frac{1}{3}$ *sestertii* per *modius* (*i.e.* 14 *sest.* (=$3\frac{1}{2}$ den.) per

[1] A father and a son with the names T. Flavius are recorded in it.

[2] Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, pp. 188 f., 211.

[3] In general, cf. the articles σιτῶναι and σιτωνία in Pauly-Wissowa (2 Reihe, v. Halbband, 1927), which only reached me when this article was practically completed.

[4] *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* [Oxford, 1926], especially pp. 528 f., 590. For the price of bread in antiquity, in the light of epigraphical evidence from Ephesos, cf. *Forschungen in Ephesos*, iii. p. 102 f.

medimnos).[1] This suggests that there was little difference between the normal prices in Egypt and Asia Minor under the Flavians and their successors, down to Hadrian, and that the σπάνις under which it rose to 40 denarii (*ca.* twelve times its normal price) was very serious indeed.[2] It is not to be supposed that Theophrastos was buying in the open market, if he purchased his grain in Egypt, for special permission would have been required from the Emperor on account of the control by Rome of the Egyptian crop. Possibly Hadrian had granted this privilege to Sparta, as he or some other Emperor is known to have done to certain other cities of the East, *e.g.* Athens (Dio Chr. xvi. 2), Ephesos (*Syll.*,[3] 839), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (*C.I.G.* 2927), Tralles (*ib.* 2930).[3]

Ll. 9–12. The Patronomate of Aphthonetos is well known, and seems to date to about the year 132, or just later;[4] the Gymnasiarchy of Theophrastos may thus have been the post which he held next after the Ephorate, as the order of the record would imply. In this capacity he was again able to display his generosity, by his provision of oil in the Gymnasium, etc. We need not multiply parallels for the provision of oil by Gymnasiarchs during their period of office,[5] nor try to collect the various terms in which a generous provision is described, nor the times during which, nor the classes for whom, the free use of oil was provided. The price of 30 denarii per hydria is presumably high, but is difficult to check with other evidence, as the usual unit for measuring oil was the ἀμφορεύς (*e.g.* in Hadrian's edict about the sale of oil at Athens, *I.G.* iii. 38, l. 47), not the ὑδρία. The story of John of Giscala and his profiteering deal in oil[6] indicates a price in the first century of our era of 20 *sextarii* (say *ca.* 11 litres) for a drachma, and if the hydria mentioned in our new text is the same as the Pontic hydria, estimated to hold 7·29 litres,[7] the price there paid, namely 30 denarii, comes to more than four denarii per litre! We saw above that the price of corn purchased in time of famine seemed about twelve times the normal rate, but one hesitates to accept that oil could have been forced up to about forty-five times the rate paid in Syria two generations before. I can only suggest that the hydria must have been a larger measure than the Pontic one referred to, or that the shortage was very severe indeed.

We do know, however, that the price of oil rose formidably in times of shortage (cf. *I.G.R.* iv. 1269, Thyateira, - - ἐν τῇ ὑπε(ρ)βαλλούσῃ τ[οῦ] ἐλαίου

[1] Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. Frumentum*, p. 145.

[2] Cf. the famine prices announced in *Apocalypse*, c. vi, χοῖνιξ σίτου δηναρίου καὶ τρεῖς χοίνικες κριθῶν δηναρίου (*i.e.* 48 den. per *medimnos* of corn).

[3] Cf. also *Forschungen in Ephesos*, iii. p. 106, No. 16 (πρεσβ[ευτὴς] καὶ σειτο[πό]μπος ἀπ[ὸ τῆς Αἰ]γύπτου); and, for Tralles, *Ath. Mitt.* viii. (1883), p. 32 f., 10; and other references in Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p. 590.

[4] Cf. *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 203 ff.; xxvi. p. 204.

[5] See Oehler's articles γυμνασίαρχος and Gymnasium in Pauly-Wissowa vii. Ziebarth gives a few good examples in *Aus dem Gr. Schulwesen*, p. 65 f.

[6] Josephus, *Vita*, c. 13 (75); cf. Rostovtzeff, *loc. cit.*

[7] Cf. Hultsch, *Metrologie*, p. 574 f., and Tafeln, pp. 703 f. The ἀμφορεύς held 26·26 litres.

τειμιώρᾳ (*sic*);[1] *B.C.H.* xxviii. (1904), p. 424, No. 10, at Argos, ἐν ἐνδείαι τοῦ ἐλαίου), but lack sufficient evidence for what would have been the prices paid in these hard times.

For ἑλκυστόν, meaning that the users of the Gymnasium were allowed to help themselves from large receptacles, we may compare Le Bas-Wadd. iii. 517, ll. 12 ff., ἔθηκαν δὲ ἔλ[αιον ἑ]λκυστὸν ἐκ λου[τήρων], etc.; *ib.* 1011 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 555), l. 3 f., γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καὶ ἀλίψαντα τὸν δῆμον ἐκ λουτήρω[ν]; *B.C.H.* x. (1886), p. 160, No. 8, γυμνασ[ι]αρχήσαντα ἀλείμμασιν ἑλκυστοῖς.[2] Among the few examples from the Greek mainland which specify the exact terms of the Gymnasiarch's generosity the following from Argos is worth quoting: *I.G.* iv. 606, μόνον καὶ πρῶτον θέντα ἔλαιον ἔν τε γυμνασίοις καὶ βαλανείοις, δούλοις καὶ ἐλευθέροις, ἀπ' ἀνατολᾶς ἁλίου ἄχρι δύσεως.

The sense of l. 11 is presumably that implied by my punctuation, namely, that three institutions are referred to, the Gymnasium, the hot baths, and the Μαχανίδαι, an unintelligible term, for which I can only suggest that it is the name of a gymnasium dating from, or at least named after, the tyrant Machanidas who controlled Sparta at the end of the third century B.C.[3] In l. 12 the provision of λέντια ξῦστρα presumably means that of linen rubbers or towels; the former word must be the Latin *lintea*, but here used adjectivally, and ξῦστρα the plural of the rare noun ξῦστρον (cf. Diodorus, xvii. 53),[4] an unusual variant for ξύστρα. Whilst frequenters of the Gymnasium usually took their own strigils (στλεγγίδες, ξῦστραι (ξυστίδες)), as Pollux tells us (x. 62), these were occasionally provided for them, as at Sestos by the generous Menas (*O.G.I.* 339, l. 78); but I can trace no other allusion to the provision of towels as an act of generosity towards the users of Gymnasia. The Attic Ephebe-inscriptions of the Imperial period make mention sometimes of a λεντιάριος (*I.G.* iii. 1133, l. 174; 1160, l. 71; 1176, l. 28; 1197, l. 28; 1199, l. 40), who may have been responsible for the supply, or in charge, of the towels.[5]

Ll. 13–15. Many of the remaining posts held by Theophrastos are familiar, but one or two must be commented on. The order in which he held them can no longer follow chronologically the order in which he describes them, though he may well have been Patronomos as his next post after his Gymnasiarchy, for we know from other sources that his year followed soon after that of Meniskos, for whom 136 or 138 seems indicated (*B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 189). Κυθηροδίκας, which

[1] = Keil–Premerstein, *Zweite Reise in Lydien*, etc. [*Denkschr. Wiener Akad.* liv. (1911)], No. 69.

[2] Cf. the numerous examples collected by Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 479, notes on ll. 9–11, referring to δρακτοί (a small vessel for ladling oil out of larger containers), to which we must add *I.G.R.* iv. 860, l. 15 (Laodikeia), where we should alter ΔΙΑΚΤΟΙΣ into δρακτοῖς.

[3] Cf. *I.G.* v. 1, p. xi. ll. 54 ff. for the historical sources, and No. 236 for a dedication (apparently) by the tyrant.

[4] Where it means a scythe-like attachment to a war-chariot.

[5] *Lentiarius* means, however, a weaver, or sometimes a merchant, of linen. The Greek form with this application to the Gymnasium is not noted either by Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.*, or Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. linteum, ad fin.*

is a new term to us in the Imperial period, is perhaps a deliberate revival of the old title familiar in the fifth century B.C. (Thucyd. iv. 53, 2), though in any case the duties attaching to it are doubtful.[1] Apparently Theophrastos acted on behalf of Atticus (for whom cf. *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 202; xxvi. p. 188 f.); as, however, the latter died in A.D. 136 (or 135?), this activity must have preceded Theophrastos' year as Eponymos. Γυμνασίαρχος ἐν τοῖς ιβ' is quite inexplicable, and resembles nothing known to me among Spartan formulae. For embassies of Spartan citizens to Rome, and to Imperial personages elsewhere, see *I.G.* v. 1, 36 B, l. 28 f.; 37, ll. 5, 7 f.; *B.S.A.* xxvi. 1, A 12, and p. 182. We have no clue to the affairs that took him to Rome, though possible suggestions are either that he went to beg for authority to obtain corn from Egypt, or on the occasion of the dispute with the 'Eleutherolakones' mentioned in v. 1, 37, l. 7 f.[2] Still less can we conjecture the grounds of his frequent embassies to other states of Greece.

Ll. 15–18. The term παράπρασις, applied especially to transactions in corn, is familiar, and we need only refer to the examples of this and kindred words (παραπιπράσκειν, παραπωλεῖν, etc.) collected and discussed by Wilhelm, (*A.-E.M.* xx. pp. 75 ff., and *Beitr. zur Gr. Inschriftenkunde*, p. 189 f.), and to the additional examples given by Tod (*B.S.A.* xxiii. p. 76 f.).[3] If the other παραπράσεις of Theophrastos were on the scale recorded in l. 7 f., he must have been a very wealthy man. For the phrase ἐν τοῖς ἐπείγουσιν καιροῖς we may compare [ἐν κατεπ[είγουσι καιροῖς[4] (*O.G.I.* 537, l. 6, at Pessinus in Galatia), and such alternative epithets as ἀναγκαῖος (Ἀρχ. Δελτ. ii. p. 148, Beroia; *B.C.H.* xxxviii. (1914), p. 63, Abdera; *Rev. Arch.* xix. (1912), p. 329, No. 28, Apollonia Pontica); δύσκολος (*O.G.I.* 339, l. 54, Sestos); δυσχερής (*J.H.S.* vi. (1885), p. 353, No. 105, Didyma); δυσχρηστότατος (*sic*) (Heberdey-Kalinka, *Zwei Reisen in S.-W. Kleinasien*, p. 48, No. 63, l. 12 f.).

For πρέσβυς συναρχίας, cf. *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 186. For εὐχαριστήριον, at Sparta, v. 1, 251 (cf. χαριστήριον, *ib.* 287). As was noted above, this and F 2 are the only documents in this series which end with a votive formula.

It will have been seen that the long and distinguished career of Theophrastos must have begun early in, or perhaps just before, the reign of Hadrian, as he had held at least three posts before the Emperor's first visit to Sparta in 125, and indeed had attained the dignity of Ephor by the time of his second visit. On the legitimate supposition that he held none of his offices simul-

[1] There may have been lawsuits arising out of the administration, or disposal after his death, of the estates of G. Julius Eurykles, who died in about 136; cf. *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 187, and note 3.

[2] Cf. Pausanias, iii. 21, 7.

[3] Professor P. Roussel, Director of the French School, kindly informs me that he has found an example of παραπωλεῖν in an inscription from Panamara (to be published in *B.C.H.* vol. li.); and in one copied by Gell at Didyma in 1812 (which I hope to publish shortly) we have - - δόσ⟨σ⟩εις τε ἀργυρικὰς καὶ σ[ι]τωνικὰς καὶ παραπράσεις ποι(ησα)μένου.

[4] Should not this be [ἐν τοῖς ἐπ]είγουσι καιροῖς? But the article seems not to be essential.

taneously, and omitting his embassies, we thus have records of twenty-three years in which he held offices of some sort, but we cannot hope to establish fully the order in which he held them, nor the intervals that may have elapsed between each tenure. It would be reasonable to allow fully forty years for his active career, and, if we place his first post *ca.* 115, his age being then about twenty-five, he may well have continued in office as late as 155 or even 160. The engraving of his *cursus* shews no signs of additions, and a date *ca.* 160 fits well with such evidence as we have for the careers of the persons recorded in the three other inscriptions engraved close to his.

F 4. On the block adjoining F 3 on the right. H. ·375; br. ·91. Letters ·028.

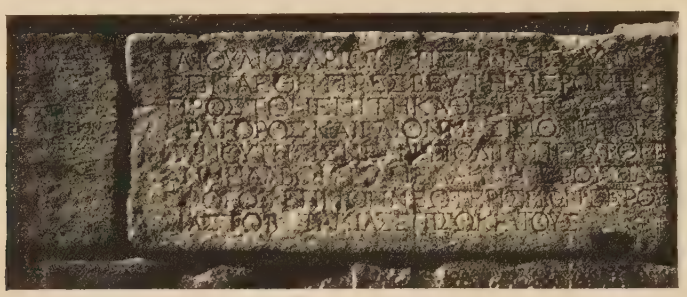


FIG. 2.—*CURSUS HONORUM* OF G. JULIUS ARION (F 4).

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ἀρίων, ἀριστίνδης, σύνδικος
ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθη, πρεσβευτὴς ἰς Ῥώμην
πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ καθέδρᾳ τοῦ Αὐτο-
κράτορος καὶ Γάϊον Μάξιμον προῖκα,
(5) *συνθύτης ἰς Νέαν πόλιν ὑπερχρονί-*
αν μὴ λαβών, Πανέλλην, γερουσίας,
ἔφορος ἐπὶ τῶν νεωτερισμῶν, γερου-
σίας τὸ β′, ταμίας ἐπὶ Σωκράτους.

Ll. 1, 2. The subject of this *cursus* is not known for certain elsewhere, though the name is not rare at Sparta; the only bearer of it with the *nomen* Julius (v. 1, 1314, l. 4) belongs to the era of Hadrian, and seems too early for our purpose. Ἀριστίνδης, found here in the nominative for the first time, is a title of unknown import, hitherto known only in the σφαιρεῖς inscriptions (v. 1, 679 (rest.), 680), and borne by the διαβέτης. It must be connected with the adverb ἀριστίνδην; but how the title was won is unknown. Σύνδικος ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθη is a magistrate known already (v. 1, 65, *temp.* Hadrian).

Ll. 2–4. 'Envoy to Rome, πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ καθέδρᾳ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, and (to) Gaius Maximus,' is an expression for which I can find no parallel, for envoys usually state merely that they went 'εἰς Ῥώμην' or 'to such and such an Emperor,' or both facts. This alternative form can only be due to exceptional circumstances, to which a clue might be furnished if we could identify 'Gaius Maximus'; but here too we can only conjecture that from the style of the allusion he must have been a high official. As the general indication from the contents of the adjacent inscriptions is that they belong to the third quarter of the second century, and as there is nothing to suggest a different date for the present text, it is possible that the reference is to C. Tattius Maximus, *praefectus praetorio* for a short time towards the end of the reign of Pius (*Vita Pii*, c. 8; cf. Dessau, *I.L.S.* 2161 and 2183 for other military posts which he had held previously). The same Emperor seems to have nominated his successor, T. Furius Victorinus, who perished with his army in the *Bellum Germanicum* in 167.[1] If then Tattius Maximus is the Gaius M. of our inscription, this embassy must have taken place *ca.* 158–160; and the Emperor would delegate to him in his capacity of *praef. praetorio* the task of hearing appeals.

It now becomes reasonably certain that ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ καθέδρᾳ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος must have been a colleague, with the functions of *adsessor* (to the *praefectus*), though there is no other close parallel for this Greek version of the title, of which the most usual one is πάρεδρος.[2]

Ll. 5–9. For συνθύτης (ε)ἰς Νεαν πόλιν, a duty presumably performed on the occasion of his visit to Rome, cf. F 2, above. Ὑπερχρονίαν μὴ λαβών must mean that he did not receive (or perhaps did not even ask for) overtime-pay for staying after his mission to attend the festival.[3] For the term Πανέλλην and the association of which it denotes membership, cf. Tod, *J.H.S.* xlii. (1922), pp. 173 ff.; only four names of Πανέλληνες were previously known at Sparta (v. 1, 45, 47, 164, ll. 5 ff.), but we have one more in No. 31, below.

Ἔφορος ἐπὶ τῶν νεωτερισμῶν must be taken together, the dash cut on the stone after the first word being merely ornamental (as in l. 5, and the first one in l. 8). This puzzling expression proves the correctness of the conjecture[4]

[1] *Vita M. Antonini*, c. 14; cf. *O.G.I.* 707, and note 3.

[2] I am indebted to Professor H. Stuart Jones for this explanation, which seems beyond doubt. For another Greek rendering of *adsessor* cf. the participle συνκαθεσθείς in a late metrical *cursus* from Lycia (*C.I.G.* 4226[e] = Dessau, *I.L.S.* 8844), and others quoted in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. Adsessor, ad init.*

[3] I have not come across any similar expression. Professor Stuart Jones has kindly suggested that it may merely be equal to μὴ ὑπερχρονήσας 'not having overstayed his allotted time'; but the use of λαβών seems to militate against this explanation, which is otherwise preferable.

[4] Of Hiller v. Gaertringen and Wilhelm. This document, owing to its damaged condition, is hard to date, and the restoration in l. 3 f. [ἐπὶ Εὐ]ρυκλέους is to my mind doubtful; perhaps [πράκτωρ τῶν ἀπ' Εὐ]ρυκλέους, as in *B.S.A.* xxvi. 1, B 9, and p. 187. The νεωτερισμοί must be the same as in our new inscription.

[ν]εωτερισμῶν for Fourmont's ΣΩΤΕΡΙΣΜΩΙ in v. 1, 44, l. 10. 'Ephor in the year of the revolution,' in which apparently there was no eponymous Patronomos to give his name to the year, is most enigmatic. The word νεωτερισμός is frequently found in classical authors, and also in Josephus in reference to preparations for revolt; [1] and surely it must here mean revolution (or revolt) and not merely reforms. The problem is at present insoluble, unless we should venture to connect this allusion with the mysterious revolt in Achaia known only from the passing mention in the *Vita Pii* (c. 5, 4–5) and an obscure allusion in Lucian (*De Morte Peregrini*, c. 19, *init.*) [2]

If, however, we accept the date suggested above for the embassy to Rome, and regard, as I think we may, the entries in this *cursus* as in chronological order, the νεωτερισμοί would fall in the reign of M. Aurelius, and remain even more unintelligible.

Ταμίας, known in Imperial times as a post in the Spartan public service from *I.G.* v. 1, 32 B, l. 23, is found also in four of the texts inscribed on our wall (*B.S.A.* xxvi. 1, A 9, l. 3; A 10, l. 5; B 8, l. 6; C 5, l. 3); we do not know exactly what funds the ταμίας controlled. The Eponymos, Σωκράτης, is very possibly identical with his namesake who held the same office in v. 1, 144, l. 1.

For another example at Sparta of the spelling ἰς for εἰς see v. 1, 47, l. 5 (which also shews the use of dashes between the entries in the *cursus* which it records, and may be not only contemporary with our present text, but perhaps the work of the same lapidary). A stroke is cut on the stone over the *iota* in this word, indicating that the omission of the *epsilon* is conscious.[3]

2. Other Lists of Magistrates, Statue-Bases, etc., from the Theatre.

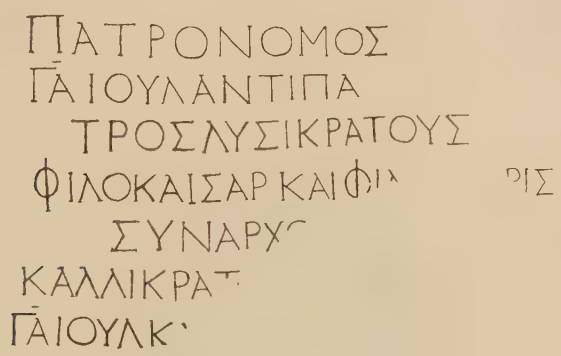
20* (2823). Fragment of unfluted column of grey marble, complete above. H. ·90; diam. *ca.* ·45. Letters, in l. 1, ·04, the others *ca.* ·028–·03. This seems to be the upper portion of the column on which are engraved the three inscriptions published last year, *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 225, No. 20; the join is imperfect, as the upper surface of the lower fragment

[1] *Vita*, c. 4 (17). Liddell and Scott do not cite this, or any other post-classical authority for the word.

[2] Cf. Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, ii. 363, who puts it in about the middle of the reign of Pius.

[3] For ι = ει see Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Grammar*, § 34.

has been roughly flattened since the breakage took place. (Found at E. end of stage, April, 1926.)



Πατρονόμος
Γά. Ἰούλ. Ἀντίπα-
τρος Λυσικράτους,
φιλόκαισαρ καὶ φιλ[όπατ]ρις·
(5) *σύναρχο[ι]*
Καλλικρατ - - -
(20 *b*, l. 1) *Γά. Ἰούλ. Κλέ[ανδρος.?]*
Νικανδρίδ[ας < βου]αγός.
(etc.)

This valuable join shews that texts (*b*) and (*c*) are similar in their contents, and that l. 1 of the latter must also be restored as *Πατ[ρ]ο[νόμος]*, followed by the names of his six colleagues; the word *σύναρχοι* must have come in l. 3, which I omitted to indicate in my publication, and the first colleague's name thus comes in l. 4.

G. Julius Antipatros is presumably the man who appears also as Eponymos in *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 163, 1, A 9, l. 5, early in the reign of Hadrian, as *ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Εὐρυκλείων* in v. 1, 663, and (probably) as *ἔνσιτος* of the Board of Ephors, of which his father was *πρέσβυς*, in the year of Kallikrates, Rufi f., v. 1, 53 A, l. 35.

L. 7. The restoration of the name as Kleandros is not quite certain. If it is accepted, we should still be doubtful whether to identify the bearer with the Eponymos *Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Κλέανδρος*, whose date is discussed

above in reference to E 35, for this would imply that he became a colleague of Antipatros some twenty years after his own year of office as Eponymos. (Or possibly he had a son of the same name, otherwise unknown.)

Further study of the stone, of which a photograph is appended

FIG. 3.—*CURSUS HONORUM* OF G. JULIUS ANTIPATROS (20*).

(Fig. 3), shews that one or two corrections must be made in last year's transcript of (*c*), in addition to the insertion of [*σύναρχοι*] at l. 3: the patronymics in ll. 4–6 should be shewn further from the commencement of those lines, implying that there is room for about fourteen letters before both *Περικλέους* and *Σωσικράτους*; this would indicate unusually

long names, so possibly the stone was flawed, causing the engraver to leave a blank space; and in l. 11 the name of the *γραμματεύς* seems definitely to have begun with *Ἰν*, and to have ended with *ους*, three letters being lost in the middle. I cannot restore it, however.

31 (2842). On a plain marble column, resembling the previous No., complete above. H. 1·50; diam. *ca.* ·38. (Found built into a Byzantine wall, in the western half of the stage, May, 1926.)

ΝΕΩΝΚΠΑΡΑ	*Νέων (Νέωνος), παρά-*
ΔΟΞΟΣ ΣΥΝ	*δοξος, σύν-*
ΔΙΚΟΣ ΓΡΑΜ	*δικος, γραμ-*
ΜΑΤΟΦΥΛΑΞ	*ματοφύλαξ,*
ΝΟΜΟΦΥ ΛΑΞ	(5) *νομοφύλαξ,*
ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝ	*Πανέλλην,*
ΣΥΝΑΓΟΡΑΝΟ	*συναγορανό-*
ΜΟΣ ΑΙΛΩ	*μος Αἰλίῳ*
ΑΛΚΑΝΔΡΙΔΑ	*Ἀλκανδρίδᾳ,*
ΣΥΝΠΑΤΡΟΝΟ	(10) *συνπατρονό-*
ΜΟΣΛΑΜΠΙΔΟΣ	*μος Λάμπιδος*
ΤΟΥΚ	*τοῦ (Λάμπιδος),*
ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ	*γερουσίας,*
ΙΕΡΟΘΥΤΗΣ	*ἱεροθύτης*
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ	(15) *σεβαστός, (sic)*
ΣΥΝΠ[illegible]	*συνπ[ατ]ρο-*
ΝΟΜ[illegible]	*νόμ[ος - -]*
[illegible]	*. ου - - - -*

In *I.G.* v. 1, 38 we have the *cursus* of a *Νέων (Νέωνος), - - Δαμάρους συνέφηβος*, which records that he was *πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων, ἱεροθύτης ἐπὶ Νικία πατρονόμου;* and in v. 1, 68, l. 6, we have a *Νέων (Νέωνος), Δαμάρει*

κάσεν, who is Ephor in the year of Cl. Aristoteles. In spite of the different formulae for expressing their relationship to Damares, it is tempting to identify the two persons concerned, but the subject of the present inscription would seem, rather, to be the son of the man already known. We know from v. 1, 38 that he had a son of the same name, who acted as σπονδοφόρος, and the chronological indications, admittedly scanty, given by the new text point to a slightly later period than those in the other two records.[1] Moreover, there is no mention here of relationship to Damares. Which of the two men is to be identified with the *Νέων* (*Νέωνος*) who appears in a short and incomplete list in v. 1, 1506, is quite doubtful.

Of the posts and titles recorded by Neon, few call for comment. *Παράδοξος* is an athletic distinction, indicating that the bearer of the title won the πάλη and the παγκράτιον on the same day.[2] Only two other Spartans are known who enjoyed this distinction, namely, P. Aelius Damokratidas (*I.G.* v. 1, 305, 553, 554, 555, 628; *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 211, No. 10) and M. Aur. Stephanos, v. 1, 596 (as interpreted by Tod, *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 103 f.); another Spartan inscription records the same honour after the name of M. Ulpius Domesticus, of Ephesos (and other cities), v. 1, 669. For *Πανέλλην*, see above, 1, F 4, l. 6.

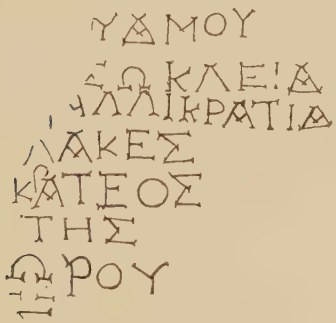
Of his two colleagues mentioned, Aelius Alkandridas must be father of P. Aelius Damokratidas recently mentioned, and Lampis, son of Lampis, may be son of the Eponymos known from v. 1, 33 and 137, l. 16, as having held office probably in the decade A.D. 115–125. His own patronomate is also referred to in an inscription found on the Acropolis in 1926, to be published later.

In l. 15 the reading ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ is clear, but if correctly engraved it is hard to interpret; it must be connected in sense with the previous word, and I can only suggest that it means 'a member of the Board of *ἱεροθύται*, with special duties in connection with the worship of the Emperor, or with the *ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ* (*vel sim.*).'

[1] Claudius Aristoteles, under whom he was Ephor, presumably late in life, seems definitely too early to have held office after Lampis II, with whom (as I suggest) the younger *Νέων* was a colleague in the Patronomate.

[2] See Liddell and Scott *s.v.* The title is not rare in inscriptions of the Imperial age.

32 (2856). Part of a slab of bluish marble complete on r. and apparently above; broken below, and cut away on l.; probably also cut down at back. H. ·27; br. ·32; th. ·11. Letters ·022–·025, with elaborate swallow-tailed *apices*. (Built into the inner face of west return of Hyposcenium-wall, May, 1926; cf. p. 187, above.)



[- - *E*]ὐ̣δάμου.
- - - *Σωκλείδα*.
[- - *K*]α̣λλικρατίδα.
[*Νομοφύ*]λακες
(5) - - *κράτεος*
- - - *της*
[- - *δ*]ώρου.
- - - ς̣.

The contents of ll. 4–7 indicate that this may be combined directly with *I.G.* v. 1, 50 B, ll. 4–7, permitting us to conclude that it is part of the missing portion of the reverse of the stone, which is opisthographous. The first three lines, at first sight, forbid this combination, as they read as follows (with Kolbe's restoration):

ΕΠΙΚΛΙΔΑ	*ἐπὶ Κλιδά*[*μου τοῦ*]
ΑΓΗΣΙΝΙ	*Ἀγησινί*[*κου*].
ΝΙΚΙΑΣΚΙΑ	*Νικίας Κρα* - -

Κλίδαμος, however, is not found elsewhere in Spartan inscriptions, and the letters ΕΠΙΚΛΙΔΑ might (at least equally well) belong to the name *Ἐπικλίδα*[*ς*]. This is also new to Sparta, but a likely name, for which we may compare *Ἐπικλείδης* at Athens (*I.G.* ii. 5, 1361 *c* (cf. *Prosop. Att.* No. 4841)). L. 1 will thus read *Ἐπικλίδα*[*ς E*]ὐ̣δάμου.

L. 2 offers the simple restoration of the names as *Ἀγησίνι*[*κος*] *Σωκλείδα*, known from v. 1, 95, l. 10 as *γερουσίας ἐπὶ Μεναλκίδα*.

L. 3 is less obvious, and, if the published copy is exact, leaves us

with the name *Νικίας*⟨ΚΙΑ⟩[*Κ*]*ᾳλλικρατίδα* : writing without access to the original, I can only suggest that there is some fault of engraving or copying responsible for the appearance of ΚΙΑ after the name *Νικίας*.[1]

The corrected text will accordingly read thus :

Ἐπικλίδα[*ς Ε*]*ὐδάμου.*
Ἀγησίνι[*κος*] *Σωκλείδα.*
Νικίας . . . ? [*Κ*]*ᾳλλικρατίδα.*
Νομοφύλακες
(5) *ἐπὶ Καλλικράτεος,*
Δαμοκρᾴτης
Ἀθηνοδώρου.
Εὔδαμ[*ο*]*ς* (⟨) ?

33 (2853). On the front of the massive statue-base which bears on its left side the inscription *I.G.* v. 1, 87. (Found in 1906, in the Byzan-

Ἁ Πόλις
Γ[*άι*]. *Πομπώνιον Ἄ*[*λκα-*]
ᾳστον, ἀρχιερέα τῷ[*ν*]
Σ[*εβαστῶν διὰ βίου,* [*φι-*]
(5) [*λ*]*ᾳκαίσαρα, φιλόπ*(*α*)*τρ*[*ιν*],
[*υἱ*]*ὸν πόλεως, εἰληφ*[*ό-*]
[*τα τὰς τῆ*]*ς ἀριστοπο*[*λ-*]
[*ιτείας τι*]*μὰς κατὰ τὸν*
[*ν*]*όμον.*

[1] Judging by the position of the Υ in *Νομοφύ*[*λακες*], could the line above be incorrectly copied, with ΚΙΑ instead of ΚΛ (the remainder of the *alpha* appearing on the new portion) ? Unfortunately I did not find an opportunity of checking the text of the original, which is built into a house at Magoula.

tine wall flanking the stage-buildings on the west; the new text lay face uppermost, and came to light in May, 1926, in removing some rubble-masonry from above it. The surface has perished from both edges of the inscription, but the restoration is free from doubt. Letters ·043, well cut. The photograph does not shew some faintly preserved letters visible on the original.)

The recipient of the statue which this base carried is too well known to need comment (*vide I.G.* v. 1, Index I, for the long list of inscriptions relating to him; and we should add *B.S.A.* xxvi. 1, B 8, l. 1).

In v. 1, 65, l. 5 ff., where he appears in the list of Ephors in the year of *Δαμοκλῆς* (*Δαμοκλέους*),[1] he is given exactly the same titles as here. His years as Eponymos, as *πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων*, and as Ephor seem to belong to the decade 130–140.[2]

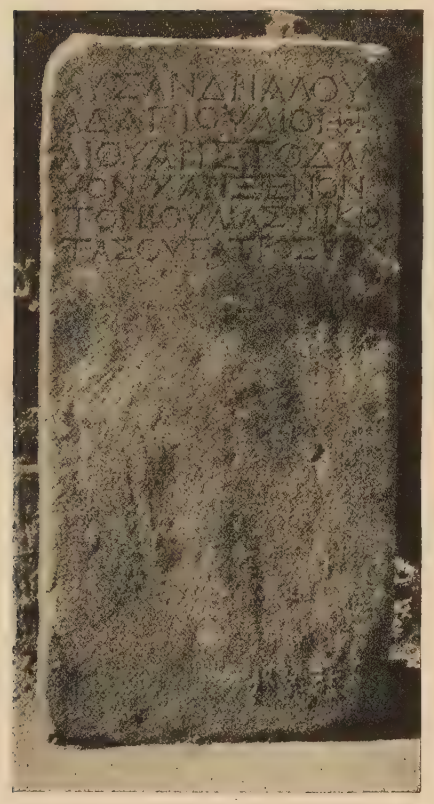
Five other Spartans, and one man who describes himself as *Μεσσήνιος καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος*, are known from inscriptions to have received the *ἀριστοπολιτείας τιμαί*,[3] and eight other texts mention the title *ἀριστοπολιτευτής*, though the holders' names are not everywhere preserved. We learn from v. 1, 467 that T. Flavius Charixenos was the first to receive the honours of *ἀριστοπολιτεία* after the renewal of the *ἀριστοπολιτείας ἀγών*, probably in the reign of Trajan; and as the statue-base recording this distinction was found built into the same wall as, and in fact only a few feet away from, the inscription under discussion, it may be assumed that the recipients of statues in this connection had them set up close to the theatre.

34 (2870). Statue-base of Laconian marble, without mouldings. H. ·98; br. ·495; th. ·355. Letters ·034. (Found at deep level in front of W. Parodos-wall, May, 1926.)

[1] See *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 201, 2 (*β*), for the restoration of the name of the Eponymos.

[2] Damokles may have been slightly after 140.

[3] V. 1, 467, *Τ. Φλ. Χαρίξενος*; 485, *Τ. Κλ. Ἁρμόνεικος Πλειστοξένου*; 498, *Τ. Κλ. Πρατόλαος Βρασίδου*; 536, *Π. Μέμμ. Δαμάρης Σιδέκτα*; 553 (restored), *Π. Αἴλ. Δαμοκρατίδας Ἀλκανδρίδα*; *Inschr. von Olympia*, 487, *Τι. Φλ. Πολύβιος* II., *Μεσσήνιος καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος*. For *ἀριστοπολιτεία* in general, see Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* No certain reference to it in an inscription has been found outside the Peloponnese. The *ἀριστοπολεῖται* at Panticapaeum, *Inscr. O. S. Pont. Eux.* ii. 29, are probably not to be regarded as a parallel (see Latyschev's note *ad loc.*; L. and S.[2] nevertheless follow Boeckh in so regarding the word).



Λυσανδρία Λου[ι-]
άδα Γ. Ἰούλιον Ἰ[ου-]
λίου Ἀριστοδάμ[ου]
ὑὸν Χαρίξενον,
(5) *τὸν Ἰουλίας Νικίου*
τᾶς θυγατρὸς ὑόν.

A dedication of a statue in honour of G. Julius Charixenos, by his maternal grandmother Lysandria, daughter of Louiadas. The recipient is already known from *I.G.* v. 1, 508, which also gives his father's name, but without *praenomen* and *nomen*. I have suggested above that this Charixenos likewise served as Eponymos as well as his namesake the son of G. Julius Lysikrates.[1]

The dedicatrix is unknown, and Louiadas was not known as a Spartan name prior to the discovery of this text and of No. 1, E 31 above. In the latter, *Λουιάδας Ἀριστοκράτους* may well have been the grandson of the man here referred to. Julia Nikion is also unknown, but may possibly be some relation of Claudia Nikion, honoured in v. 1, 607.

The *stemma* of the family may be thus composed :—

[1] P. 217.

Louiadas = (?)

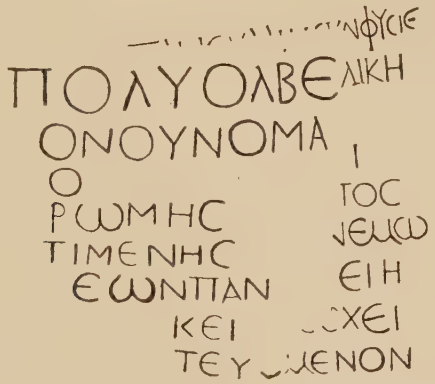
(?) = Aristokrates — Lysandria = (?)

Louiadas II (*νομοφύλαξ*, I, E 31) — Julia Nikion = G. Jul. Aristodamos

G. Jul. Charixenos.

3. MISCELLANEOUS DEDICATIONS.

35 (2831). Columnar statue-base, roughly cut down from a rectangular block, with the lower portion still left square. Above and on the right of the text are the remains of an earlier epigram, most of which has been erased deliberately to make space for the new one. The facsimile shews the relation of the two texts. H. ·865; diam. ·62. Letters ·03–·04, those in ll. 1–4 rather larger than the rest. (Found *in situ*, on a rough foundation of small fragments, at the W. angle of the bastion carrying the external stairway of the E. retaining-wall, April, 1926, cf. p. 185, Fig. 3.)



Ἀντολ[ί]ῃ πολύολβε, | σέθεν καλὸν οὔνομα |ἔδεκτο|
(5) *ἀνθύπατον Ῥώμης||ἄνθος ἐϋκτιμένης.|*
Ὡς ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἐὼν πάν|των ἀπὸ κῆρας ἐρύκει|
Σπάρτην τ᾽ εὔανδρον τεῦ|ξεν ἐρειπομένην,||
(10) *ἣ οἷ δῶκεν ἄγαλμ(α) κατὰ | πτόλιν ἄγχι Λυκούργου,|*
ὄφρα πέλοιτο βροτοῖς | αἰὲν ἀοιδότατος.

Of the erased inscription nothing intelligible can be recovered. L. 1, apparently - - ε (ς ?) καὶ φύσι ε - - (or φύσις); l. 2, - - λική; l. 3, all erased; l. 4, |; l. 5, - - πος; l. 6, - - νεμῳ; l. 7, - - ειη; l. 8, λ - - ς ἔχει; l. 9, - - όμενον. The last letter of l. 7 of the later epigram is actually ι, but looks like N on the stone, as it runs into the remains of a letter (Λ or N ?) surviving from the earlier inscription, which does not shew in the facsimile.

Ll. 1–5. 'Wealthy Anatolia, from thee the proconsular flower of well-built Rome received his fair name.' This invocation leaves us with no doubt that the subject of the epigram is a proconsul of the name of Anatolius, and it is natural to identify him with the Ἀντόλιος Ἑλλάδος ἀνθύπατος, who erected a statue to Πρόβος ὁ ὕπαρχος at Athens, *I.G.* iii. 639 (=Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 902). The date of Anatolius, which Köhler put near the middle of the fifth century, identifying this man with the consul of 440, seems rather to be between 368 and 375,[1] in view of the date of the tenure by Probus of the *praefectura Illyrici;* and certainly it would surprise us to find at the theatre at Sparta any monument belonging to the later date suggested for Anatolius.[2]

For the adjective πολύολβος applied to a region, we may compare πολύολβος Ἠμαθίς, *Anth. Pal.* vi. 114, l. 5, and as a synonym, Ἀσία πολύχρυσος, *I.G.* ii. 1400. Ἀνατολίη is personified in *Anth. Pal.* (*App. Plan.*) xvi. 61 and 369. It is interesting to find ἀνθύπατος used in its adjectival sense, which had practically disappeared whilst the word had for so long been treated as a substantive (cf. ὕπατος).[3]

Ll. 6–9. We cannot tell to what catastrophe the poet is here alluding. 'Saving all from their doom' may be a flight of fancy, but 'rebuilding ruined Sparta' must surely have some justification in fact. If the date for Anatolius is correct, there was no invasion of barbarians of which we know, which might have destroyed the city; and if, on the other hand, his activities comprised rebuilding it (or some part of it), after an earthquake, it will not permit us to look for a literal meaning in πάντων ἀπὸ κῆρας ἐρύκει. In view of the great earthquake of the year 375

[1] H. Grégoire, *Recueil des Inscriptions Grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, i. p. 19; Symmachus, *ed.* Seeck, introd. p. xcix. I am indebted to Professor A. Wilhelm and to Mr. Norman H. Baynes respectively for these references, and for other help in connection with the contents of this epigram.

[2] See above, p. 209.

[3] Dionys. Halic. uses it as an adjective with ἀρχή and ἐξουσία.

mentioned by Zosimus (cf. p. 208) the latter explanation seems the more likely, and our epigram would date from this (or the following?) year.

Ll. 10–13. If, as seems probable, this inscription is in its original position, there must have been a statue of Lycurgus adjacent. The allusion can hardly be to the sanctuary of Lycurgus, which according to Pausanias lay at some distance from the Theatre, perhaps close to the Eurotas.[1]

For ἀοιδός used adjectivally in the sense of 'famous,' as here, we may compare ἀοιδότερος (Arkesilaos *ap.* Diogenes Laertios, iv. 6, 30), and, in the sense of 'tuneful,' ἀοιδότατος applied to ὄρνις (metaphorically of a tuneful singer) in an epigram at Mytilene, *I.G.* xii. 2, 443 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 107), which is an obvious reminiscence of Euripides, *Hel.* 1109 (cf. Theocritus, xii. 7, ἀοιδοτάτη πετεηνῶν).

The use of ἄγαλμα for the statue of Anatolius is presumably dictated by requirements of metre, and does not imply any religious association such as might have been expected by the choice of this word. In fact we may question whether, by the fourth century of our era, this association of the word ἄγαλμα any longer survived.[2]

36 (2871 + 2789). Two fragments from a thick slab of Laconian marble, complete above and below; (*a*) is complete on l., (*b*) is complete on r., except for a small portion, the loss of which does not injure the lettering. The central portion of the block is missing, but must have been of about the width of the two surviving pieces. H. ·56; br. (*a*) ·247; (*b*) ·25; th. ·20. Letters ·04–·05; (*a* was found in June, 1926, built into the W. side of the channel draining the Orchestra,[3] and *b* was incorporated in the late wall which was built over the W. Parodos-wall).[4]

The restoration of the name in l. 4, and the almost certain restorations in ll. 2, 3 and 6, shew that the number of letters per line ranges from seventeen to twenty. It is clear that Λυσίνικος on the one hand undertook the construction of certain objects whose name ends in -ανεις, in honour of the Dioscuri, and in return he and his descendants received some favour from the people, which, alike in view of the context

[1] iii. 16, 1; cf. *B.S.A.* xii. p. 302.

[2] The history of this word, especially in Imperial times, and its relation to ἀνδριάς and εἰκών would repay study.

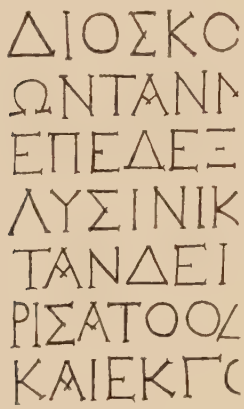
[3] See *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 124 f.; and above, p. 176.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 140, Fig. 8.

and of the space vacant, can only be restored as the word ἱ[ερειοσύ]ν̣αν.[1]

The completion of the word in l. 1 is a difficulty, and our choice is strictly limited, as we require a plural word ending in -ανεις, preceded by three letters, if we restore the first word as Διοσκο[ύρων], or by two only if we restore the dative Διοσκο[ύροις]. With some hesitation, but with no alternative in view, I would restore [δοκ]α̣νεῖς, and would

(a)



(b)

Διοσκο[ύρων δοκ(?)]α̣νεῖς,
ὧν τὰν μ̣[ὲν κατασ]κ̣ευὰν
ἐπεδέξ[ατο παρ᾽ ἑαυ]τοῦ
Λυσίνικ[ος Σωτη]ρίδα,
(5) τὰν δὲ ἱ[ερειοσύ]ν̣αν ἐχα-
ρίσατο ὁ δ̣[ᾶμος Λ]υ̣σινίκῳ
καὶ ἐκγό̣[νοις.]

suggest that it must be an alternative form of δόκανα, the well-known gallows-like erection symbolising the Dioscuri at Sparta.[2] If this is tenable, we must suppose that Lysinikos either had erected a new structure symbolising the Dioscuri, or perhaps had re-erected the ancient and famous one, after it had been injured or overthrown. The word

[1] For examples from Laconia of the grant of a priesthood to a citizen (and his descendants) as a reward for his generosity in repairing a temple or in other ways forwarding the welfare of a cult, cf. *I.G.* v. 1, 1114 (Geronthrai), 1144 (Gytheion); in v. 1, 233, two priests of the Dioscuri dedicate τὴν πεῖλαν (*sc.* πῖλον) to them.

[2] Plutarch, *De Frat. Amore, ad init.*; and other references cited by Wace, *S.M.C.*, p. 114 f.

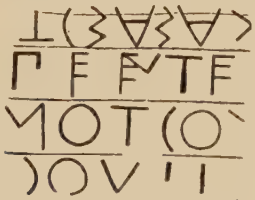
[*κατασ*]*κ̣ευάν* seems to fit the space better than *ἐπισκευάν*, so we should perhaps prefer the explanation that a new erection is here commemorated.

L. 3. *Ἐπιδέχεσθαι* is occasionally used also in Laconian inscriptions instead of the more usual *προσδέχεσθαι*, with *ἀνάλωμα* as its object,[1] and occurs elsewhere with such words as *δαπάνη* or even *κίνδυνος*, but I have not found it used with *κατασκευή*, *vel sim.*

L. 4. *Λυσινίκος Σωτηρίδα* is also the name of one of the *δογματογράφοι* of the *ὠβὰ τῶν Ἀμυκλαιέων*, in *I.G.* v. 1, 26, l. 1, which text is dated by Tod (*S.M.C.* 441) and Kolbe to the second or first century B.C. It is possible that he is identical with the bearer of this name in our present text, though perhaps he is more likely to have been the grandfather of the latter, as our lettering does not suggest a date much before the Christian era. We have no other evidence for this family holding the priesthood of the Dioscuri, and only two other inscriptions give us the names of priests of this cult at Sparta.[2]

L. 5. For another Laconian instance of the form *ἱερειοσύνα*, cf. v. 1, 1144, cited above.

37 (2829). Part of a plain base of coarse grey marble, complete above and below; there is a worked face, with a dowel-hole, on l., indicating that a companion-block is lost; the r. edge is broken. H. ·205; br. ·265; th. ·27. Letters ·04–·045. (Found amid debris of Byzantine period above the external stairway of the E. retaining-wall, April, 1926.)



[- - *νι*]*κ̣άσας*)*τ* - -

- - *πέντε* - -

- - *χο*)*τὸν* - -

- -)*ο̣λιι* - -

The *boustrophedon* arrangement, with horizontal lines cut on the stone, is not uncommon in archaic Spartan inscriptions, and the additional feature of some of the lines of the text being inverted is matched by v. 1, 720, which has its second and fourth lines, out of a total of five, so treated. An exact date cannot, of course, be assigned to the letter-forms, but we

[1] v. 1, 609, 1296.

[2] v. 1, 233, *Πό. Μέμμιος Πρατόλα(ο)ς καὶ Οὐολουσσηνὴ Ὀλυμπίχα*; 559, *Σ.* (*Πομπήϊος*) *Εὔδαμος Ὀνασικράτους*.

may note the similarity of the *epsilon* to those in v. 1, 238, and of the *ny* to those in v. 1, 919. We may suggest *ca.* 500 B.C. as the approximate date.[1] In l. 2 the third letter was at first erroneously engraved as ϵ and then altered to ν.[2] In l. 3 the first sign seems to have been Ψ and not ξ. The curved stroke in ll. 1 and 3 must be a mark of punctuation, as in v. 1, 720 and 828; and apparently we have it again in l. 4, *ad init.*, which is not, therefore, to be restored (tempting though it appears) as δ̣ό̣λ̣ι̣χ̣[ον]. *Ο̣λ̣ιι* or even *Θ̣α̣ιι* seems the correct reading, but the surface is badly weathered in this line.[3]

Little can be established with certainty except that this is from an athletic victor's dedication, and that five victories, of some sort, are alluded to in l. 2. It is not impossible that in l. 3 we should restore [ἐ̣ν *ΓαιαϜό*]χ̣ο, as in the Damonon inscription, v. 1, 213, ll. 9, 51, etc. But speculation is unprofitable, as we have no safe clue to the original length of each line.

(b) *From the Acropolis.*

38 (2849). Four-sided stele of Laconian marble, incomplete below, with ornament above in the style of an Ionic capital. A pomegranate-flower occupies the centre of the decorated space, and from its base two tendrils curve upwards and end in volutes, of which that on the right is mostly broken off.[4] H. ·40; br. ·16; th. ·155. Letters ·028–·033, well cut and widely spaced. (Found in a late wall, behind centre of *cavea*, May, 1926.)

No name beginning *Ἐτεοι-* is known to Bechtel,[5] but, as the fifth letter can only have been *iota*, the name suggested is in no way unlikely, and will fall into line with the numerous names so terminating; among them *Ἀνδροίτας*, *Κλεοίτας* and *Φιλοίτης* are of Peloponnesian origin.[6] At Sparta names beginning *Ἐτεο-* are limited to *Ἐτεοκλῆς* and *Ἐτεόνικος*.[7]

[1] Cf. Tod, *S.M.C.*, Introd. § 2.

[2] Can this be an allusion to the *πέντε δόλιχοι* mentioned in the record of a victor at Geronthrai, v. 1, 1120?

[3] The third letter is very doubtful, the fourth might be Τ or Ψ. *Ὀλύμ*[*πια, vel sim.*] can hardly be a possible restoration, but I have no likely suggestion to offer.

[4] For a somewhat similar motive cf. the early Ionic capital in the Sparta Museum, *S.M.C.* 737 (and Fig. 75), which has, however, no tendrils.

[5] *Hist. Gr. Personennamen*, p. 168.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 346.

[7] Poralla, *Prosop. der Lakedaimonier*, Nos. 282, 283.

'Αθανα[ίαι]
ἀνέθε[κεν]
'Ετεοί[τας (?)].

The lettering indicates a date hardly later than the first decade of the fifth century, and possibly even earlier; but the presence of two types of N warns us not to attach too much importance to individual letter-forms as chronological evidence.

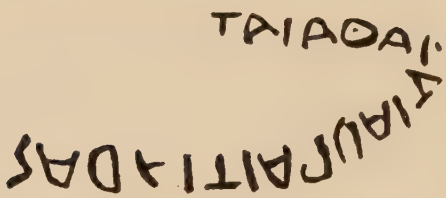
39 (2851). *Halter* of Laconian marble, broken through, but only lacking a small chip at point of fracture. L. ·24; h. ·085 m. The inscription runs along the edge, and turns round one of the tapering ends; the letters seem to have been made by tapping with a pointed tool, and are rough and uneven in size, ranging from ·01–·018 m. (Found in votive debris close to the foundations of the early wall below the back wall of the *cavea*, May, 1926.)

Τᾶι 'Αθαναίαι] Παϊτιάδας.

The N is damaged by injury to the tip of the stone, and the second A is partly lost owing to the fracture. The reading is free from doubt, if we regard the curved stroke before the dedicator's name as a mark of punctuation, like that in No. 37, above.

The name *Παϊτιάδας* seems unknown elsewhere, and is only explicable on the assumption that an intervocalic *sigma* (or aspirate in lieu of it) is omitted, and that the real form of the name was *Πασιτιάδας*. The more likely name *Παντιάδας* (Bechtel, *op. cit.* p. 359) is out of the question, as the third letter cannot have been N. This does not occur among the

known names beginning with *Πασι-*,[1] of which Sparta furnishes three examples in the fifth and fourth centuries,[2] and many more later. The omission of *sigma* or of the aspirate substituted for it in such a position is apparently unknown in Spartan inscriptions earlier than the third century B.C. A good later example of this omission is to be found in *I.G.* v. 1, 1295 (third century B.C.?), which gives us *Κρατήϊππος*, *Παϊνικίδας* and several other names so treated.



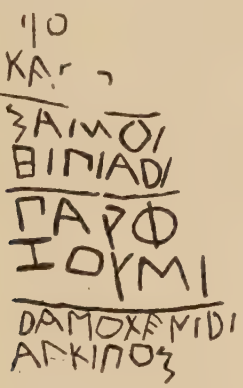
For ancient *Halteres* in general, see Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.*; Jüthner, *Antike Turngeräthe*, pp. 3–13; and for a well-illustrated discussion of the types and their usage, E. Norman Gardiner, *J.H.S.* xxiv. (1904), pp. 181 ff. Our Spartan example (as also an uninscribed fragment, of a similar *Halter*, found close to, and perhaps originally forming a pair with it) is of the type of the pair found at Corinth, and published by Mylonas,[3] with the difference that instead of being pierced with a hole for the fingers to grip it has a semicircular cutting, not quite in the centre, extending across one side. Other inscribed *Halteres* are known, namely, a stone one

[1] Cf. Bechtel, *op. cit.*, p. 361.
[2] Poralla, *op. cit.*, Nos. 590, 591, 592.
[3] *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1883, pp. 103 ff.; cf. also Pausanias' account of archaic *ἁλτῆρες*, v. 26, 3.

from Olympia (*Bronzen*, p. 180, No. 1101), and a leaden one from Eleusis (*I.G.* i. ², 802).

It would be rash to try to give an exact date for an inscription so roughly incised, but the curvilinear punctuation-mark, and (unless merely accidental) the curved top of the Γ, suggest the sixth rather than the fifth century.

40 (2879). Small fragment of soft, fine-grained limestone, complete on l. only. H. ·29; br. (*max.*) ·08; th. ·076 m. The letters are mostly lightly scratched, but those in ll. 5 and 6 are more firmly cut, and larger, averaging *ca.* ·009 m. as compared with ·006 m. for the rest. (Found on the Acropolis in 1926, among loose stones thrown out from the previous year's excavations.) [1]



..ο - -
Καπο(?).
Σαμολ - -
Ηιπιάδα[*ς* ?].
(5) *Παρθ*[*ενίο* ?]
Ζουμι - - .
Δαμοξενίδα
Ἄλκιπος.
(*vacat*)

Little can be made of this list of names, and its purpose is not clear; it has the appearance of having been engraved by more than one person. L. 1, possible *Προ-*, as the surviving traces of the first letter suggest Γ. L. 2, the second letter might have been ϟ as in l. 7; the third and fourth are most uncertain, but ΓΟ seems the most likely reading, and the line contained no more. L. 3, possibly *Σαμόλ*[*ας*].[2] Ll. 4, 5 offer no difficulty, but in l. 6 we have some very strange name, since neither *Ζουμ-* nor *Ζωϋμ-* seems known elsewhere as the first element in a proper name. In l. 7, *Δαμοξενίδας* seems hitherto unknown, though of course *Δαμόξενος* is not rare, and names so terminating are fairly common at Sparta in

[1] This was detected by the keen eyes of our foreman, G. Alexopoulos.

[2] The name of an Achaean mentioned in Xen. *Anab.* v. 6, 14; for the root cf. *Σαμύλος* at Geronthrai, v. 1, 1133.

inscriptions of the Imperial age.[1] In l. 8, *Ἄλκιπ(π)ος* is a name familiar in later inscriptions at Sparta (v. 1, 210, l. 34; 212, l. 13; 282).

The ruled lines indicate that each pair of entries is a separate item, presumably the name of a father and son. As, however, in l. 8 we definitely have a nominative, we may assume that here at any rate the patronymic was written first, though we cannot say if this arrangement was employed in the second and third entries; certainly the entry in l. 2 is more suggestive of a genitive.

Here again the irregular lettering is hard to date, but various features point towards the sixth century rather than the fifth, namely, the leaning *epsilon*, the Φ for *theta* and the many-stroked *sigma*. Moreover, the undoubled consonant in the names *Ἱππιάδας* and *Ἄλκιπος*, for which I have found no parallel in early Spartan inscriptions, points strongly in the same direction.[2]

A. M. WOODWARD.

[1] Particularly *Φιλοξενίδας*; cf. also *Θεοξενίδας* and *Λυϊξενίδας*.

[2] Examples in early Attic inscriptions of undoubled λ and π are given by Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Gram. der Att. Inschr.*[3], p. 93, *s.v.* '*Gemination*.'

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE School was highly honoured by the consent of the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin, to take the Chair at the Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the School, which owing to the importance of the occasion was held in the Aeolian Hall, on Nov. 2nd, 1926.

The Chairman of the Managing Committee, Mr. George A. Macmillan, before presenting the following Report on their behalf for the session 1925–26, announced that Dr. Duncan Mackenzie had accepted the newly formed post of Archaeological Curator at Knossos.

Knossos.—The final formalities for the transfer of the Villa Ariadne and of the site of the Palace of Knossos by Sir Arthur Evans to the School were completed in April; Mr. M. N. Elliadi, British Vice-Consul at Candia, kindly acting on behalf of the Director, who was unable to visit Crete for this purpose.

Thanks to the generous manner in which Sir Arthur Evans has now endowed his gift, the Committee have been able to arrange for the appointment of an Archaeological Curator to reside in the Villa Ariadne, which they hope will become a permanent centre of research worthy of its donor and of its historic surroundings.

The Committee desire to take this opportunity of again expressing their gratitude to Sir Arthur Evans for his unique gift, and they desire also to thank the Hellenic Government for so courteously permitting the Palace site to be transferred to the School without payment of transfer or other dues.

Director.—The Director spent two months of his leave in England, and resumed his duties at the School on November 23rd. At the Annual Meeting of the School, on October 27th, he gave an account of the second season's excavations at Sparta, having previously lectured on them at Leeds, Liverpool and Oxford. Other work undertaken in England included the completion of his reports on 'Archaeology in Greece' for the *Hellenic Journal*, and 'Greek Archaeology and Excavation' for the *Year's Work*, and also of his article for the *Numismatic Chronicle* describing the hoard of Tarsus coins mentioned in the last Annual Report. During the winter, in Athens, his

time was divided between his administrative duties and those in connection with the forthcoming volume of the *Annual*, to which he made extensive contributions on the principal results of the first two campaigns at Sparta. These articles were not completed when he left, to resume the excavations, early in April. Moreover, at an Open Meeting, held early in March, he gave an account of the Sparta excavations of 1925, and during Mr. Heurtley's absence in Macedonia gave some time to the running of the Library and the introduction of holiday-visitors to it. His only journey outside Athens, except for an excursion to Eleutherae, was a short visit to the Headquarters of the Lake Copais Company, at the end of March, to inaugurate Mr. Austin's trial-excavations at Haliartos, which are described below. He left for Sparta on April 5th, and was present throughout the excavations, except for a brief visit to Athens for the purpose of attending the opening of the Gennadeion, on April 23rd. He reached Athens again on June 11th, after visiting Epidauros and the Swedish excavations at Asine. For the remainder of June, and until his final departure on July 31st, he was again occupied, in the intervals of dealing with accounts and other administrative duties, with MSS. and proofs of his contributions to the *Annual*, and in addition supervised the completion by Mr. de Jong of the latest plans of the work at Sparta, and by Miss Tankard of some of her drawings of Sparta finds. After making all arrangements for, and superintending the commencement of, certain essential repairs to the School property, the repainting of the Hostel, etc., he left Athens at the end of July.

Assistant Director.—Mr. W. A. Heurtley was absent from Athens from mid-July to October 9th. He spent some six weeks on the Dalmatian coast, returning via Cettinje and Monastir to Salonika, investigating *en route* prehistoric mounds on the Monastir plain, and then spending five weeks in Salonika studying the finds from his excavation in Vardaróftsa. Apart from a brief visit to see the German excavations at Aegina, he remained in Athens until January 18th, when he again visited Salonika and the Chalkidike, returning on February 3rd. Three weeks later he left for Macedonia to resume his excavation at Vardaróftsa, where he had the assistance of Mrs. Heurtley, Messrs. Tait, Cuttle and Hutchinson; a short report on this excavation is given below. Returning to Athens early in April, he proceeded to Mycenae to meet the Hellenic Travellers' Club parties, and conducted them round the site; and on April 24th was present at the Centenary celebrations at Missolonghi, whence he returned via Agrinion and Karpenisi. Between May 18th and 21st he visited Corinth and thence by a cross-country journey reached Parapoungia, where he visited Miss Goldman's excavations, and went on to see those of Mr. Austin at Haliartos; and at the end of the month made a brief visit to Sparta via Kalavryta, the Ladon Valley and Andritsena. Finally, after another fortnight's work with Mr. Cuttle on their finds at Salonika, he returned to Athens on July 9th, and left for England on July 20th.

During his time in Athens, in addition to his ordinary duties in the Library and Hostel, he assisted in an English examination for the Ministry of National Economy, attended the Gennadeion inaugural ceremony, at which he represented the University of Cambridge, and devoted much of his time to preparing a full report on his excavations at Vardaróftsa, and completing his contributions to the forthcoming *Annual.*

Students.—The number of full-time students was below the average for recent years, but it is satisfactory to record that the total received for Hostel rents almost equals that for the previous session. The Committee note with particular gratification that five members of the sister-School at Rome visited the School at Athens for periods of varying length.

Mr. R. P. Austin, B.A., was re-admitted with a Travelling Studentship from the University of London. He left England late in August, and spent two months in Germany, learning the language and working in the Archaeological Museums and libraries at Heidelberg and Munich; after spending a few days in Vienna he reached Athens towards the end of October. Most of his work during the session was concerned with the inscriptions of Boeotia, in continuation of his task of gathering together the material which has been published since the appearance of the Boeotian *Corpus;* he also completed for publication the inscriptions contained in a note-book of Sir W. Gell's recording his travels on the Greek mainland. In February he visited Delphi, in order to verify certain points in an inscription (for Professor H. Stuart Jones), and at the end of March commenced the small excavation at Haliartos, of which a report appears below. He returned to Athens in May, revisited the excavations at Sparta early in June, and after completing his Haliartos report returned to England at the end of that month.

Mr. Herbert Box, B.A., St. John's College, Oxford, holder of the School Studentship, reached Athens in mid-December, and left at the beginning of July. His main work lay in the field of Epigraphy, and he studied, and attended the lectures given by Professor Wilhelm, in the Epigraphical Museum; and, moreover, devoted much time to the subject of the origin of Roman *nomina* in Greek inscriptions of the Imperial period, especially those of Laconia. He was present at the start of the Sparta excavations, but was recalled to England by urgent family affairs, returning, however, for the last three weeks of the campaign. During these periods he kept the inventories of the newly-found marbles, inscriptions, stamped bricks and tiles. In addition to more accessible sites in Attica and the Argolid, he visited the Amphiaraion, Delphi, Euboea, and the excavations and Museums in Naxos, Syra and Thera.

Mr. W. L. Cuttle, B.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was again re-admitted, with a grant from his College, in order to assist Mr. Heurtley at his Macedonian excavations, joining him at Vardaróftsa on March 16th; after the end of their campaign he worked in Salonika on the finds for about six

weeks, and subsequently proceeded to Sparta, where he gave invaluable assistance until the end of the season, as described below. After a fortnight in Athens, and another visit to Salonika for ten days, to complete his work there, he left for England early in July, and kindly undertook to read a paper for the Director, at the British Association Meeting at Oxford, on the Sparta excavations.

Mr. H. G. G. Payne, B.A., Christ Church, Oxford, was re-admitted, and continued his study of 'Corinthian vase-painting and the other arts of Archaic Corinth and of the Dorian colonies of the West.' Accompanied by Mrs. Payne he reached Athens on January 9th, and left finally on April 22nd. In addition to working in the Museums of Athens they visited Corinth, the Argolid, Boeotia, Euboea, Aegina, Delos and Mykonos, and paid a short visit to Egypt.

Miss Elizabeth O. Scott, Oxford, Home Student, spent three months at the School, returning in time for the summer term, in order to read for the Diploma in Classical Archaeology. As her special subject was the Acropolis, she spent most of her time in Athens, but visited also Corinth, Delphi, the Argolid and Olympia. During her stay in Athens she enjoyed the privilege of attending the lectures given by the Director of the American School on the Propylaea.

Mr. G. A. D. Tait, B.A., St. John's College, Cambridge, holding a research grant from his College, reached Athens in October, visiting Paris, Rome and Naples *en route*. His main subject was the topography and history of Crete, with special reference to its position in classical Greek times, and he travelled to numerous sites in the centre of the island in February, finding the Villa Ariadne a most convenient base of operations. He also accompanied the American School on its autumn trip in the Peloponnese, and later visited Boeotia, Delphi, Olympia, and travelled through Aetolia and Epirus, crossing Pindus into Thessaly. In March he joined Mr. Heurtley for a week at Vardaróftsa, and subsequently was present throughout the excavations at Sparta, where he took charge of the work on the Acropolis with conspicuous zeal and thoroughness.

Miss E. Tankard, B.A., of the University of Liverpool, was again re-admitted, and was present for the second half of the campaign at Sparta, making drawings of the pottery and other small finds. She also made several drawings of representative pieces of Byzantine pottery from the Theatre, the ultimate publication of which should prove a valuable contribution to this still obscure subject.

The following students from the School at Rome were admitted at various times during the session. Mr. R. A. Cordingley, Architect, who travelled in the Peloponnese, visiting Bassae and Olympia; Mr. W. A. Sisson, Architect, who also visited Sparta, and made helpful suggestions regarding the stage-plan of the Theatre; Miss K. M. T. Chrimes, holder of a Gilchrist Studentship,

who spent over two months in Greece, including a fortnight at Sparta (where she helped to keep the marble-inventory during Mr. Box's absence, and assisted the Director in checking inscription-transcripts), and visited many other sites; Miss N. M. Holley, who spent three weeks in Athens visiting sites in Attica, and subsequently travelled to Delphi, Olympia, Lepreon, Sparta, and sites in the Argolid; Miss Jocelyn Toynbee, Mary Ewart Travelling Scholar of Newnham College, Cambridge, and Lecturer in University College, Reading, who studied the activities of Hadrian in Greece, and in particular Hadrianic sculpture and coins. At Athens she worked in the National and Numismatic Museums, and while travelling in Greece studied Hadrianic sculpture and inscriptions and other Roman-age material at Delphi, Olympia, Sparta, Corinth, Epidauros and Thebes.

Among others who enjoyed the privilege of accommodation at the Hostel were Mr. R. W. Hutchinson, a former student, who was for a time with Mr. Heurtley at Vardaróftsa; Mr. C. W. M. Cox, on his way back from travelling in Asia Minor; Mr. Oliver Davis, the Clarke Student, of Exeter College, Oxford, who spent his Easter vacation visiting most of the principal Greek sites; Mr. R. B. Onians, of Trinity College, Cambridge; Mr. John Finley, Jr., of the American School, to whom by special arrangement a room was allotted for most of the session, and Mr. E. J. Forsdyke of the British Museum, who subsequently went on to help Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos. During most of July, a party from the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada, under Professor W. H. Alexander, who had stayed at the School two years before, were admitted to student-privileges, and visited the Museums and monuments of Athens, and several sites within easy reach. The Committee note with much pleasure this further proof of the appreciation of the School by Universities of the Empire.

Visitors.—This session also afforded further evidence of the usefulness of the School as a source of information for travel in Greece to holiday-visitors, among whom we welcomed more than one party of undergraduates from Cambridge; and it is pleasant to record visits from two Students of older generations in Mr. J. G. Milne, who spent April in Greece, and Sir John Marshall, C.I.E., Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, who spent nearly two months in Greece. Both also paid visits to the excavations at Sparta. Sir Charles Walston paid a flying visit to the School in May, whilst visiting Greece on a cruising liner, and found time to give a lecture to the Greek Archaeological Society; and Mr. Eric Maclagan, C.B.E., Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, visited the School more than once during a short stay in Athens. Another old student, who paid only a brief visit *en route* to Crete, was Professor Theodore Fyfe; Dr. H. R. Hall, Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum, was another welcome visitor. Mr. Heurtley's helpful activities, in connection with the visits of the Hellenic Travellers' Club cruises to Mycenae, are a further proof of the aid which the School can render to visitors, in spite of the smallness of its establishment.

The Hostel.—The painting of all the internal woodwork was carried out during the Summer vacation of 1925, and during the present vacation the external woodwork is again being repainted, and certain warped and decayed shutters renewed. Owing to the alarming discovery that the roof of the Hostel outhouses was on the point of collapse from dry rot, this has been entirely rebuilt, and a better drainage-system arranged for the surface-water on the slope behind them. The wall bounding the School property along the lower street was also found to need attention; a collapsed portion has been repaired, and the whole length re-pointed and provided with a new coping where needed. Similar repairs have been also put in hand for the wall along the upper street. The Committee are glad to be able to report that the whole of the School property is now in a thoroughly sound state of repair, and that its upkeep should involve no large outlay for many years to come.

Lectures.—The Director undertook no formal lecture-course this session. In addition to the Open Meeting already mentioned, an informal lecture was given in the School Library, for members of the Archaeological Schools only, by Professor W. Dörpfeld, on the Leukas-Ithaka question in the light of some recent criticism. Professor Adolf Wilhelm, who spent the session at the Austrian School, kindly gave a series of lectures in the Epigraphical Museum which were attended by the Director as well as by some of our students.

The Gennadeion.—The opening ceremony of the Gennadios Library took place on April 23rd, in the presence of the then President, General Pangalos, of His Excellency and Mme. John Gennadios, and of numerous representatives of American Universities and other learned bodies. The Director, who had returned with Mrs. Woodward from Sparta expressly for the purpose, was present as representing both the School and the McGill University, Montreal, and Mr. Heurtley also represented the University of Cambridge; the Hellenic Society was represented by Dr. William Miller. A reception was given in the Library on the previous afternoon, the Director and Mrs. Woodward, and the Assistant-Director and Mrs. Heurtley being at home to friends of the School, to meet M. and Mme. Gennadios.

Publications.—Volume XXVI of the *Annual* is now in the press, and will be issued in the course of the autumn. In addition to various papers by recent students of the School, it contains an account of some of the *rariora* contained in the Finlay Library at Athens, by Dr. W. Miller, and four long articles describing the principal results of the School's first two campaigns at Sparta. This will be the last volume of the *Annual* to be edited by Miss Hutton, and the Committee desire to take this occasion of recording their deep regret that she is retiring from the duties of editorship, and their gratitude for the devoted services she has rendered for so many years in this capacity. They feel sure that all who have ever contributed to the *Annual* during Miss Hutton's period as editor will wish to be associated with this expression of their feelings.

Mrs. E. B. Culley, they are glad to report, has kindly consented to serve as her successor.

Excavations.—Sparta.—The Director left for Sparta on April 5th, and returned to Athens on June 11th. The excavations were resumed on April 7th, and the last pay-day was June 5th, the last few days being devoted to sorting finds and transferring them to the Museum. The Director had as helpers Mrs. Woodward, who was present throughout, except for their brief visit to Athens for the Gennadeion ceremony; Mr. Box, who was present from the start until April 18th, and from May 17th to the finish of the work, and Messrs. De Jong and Tait, who assisted throughout; and he again secured the services of Miss Tankard, who arrived on May 3rd, and stayed till the close, making drawings of the finds of pottery and other small objects. Mr. W. L. Cuttle was present for the last three weeks of the campaign, and resumed his excavation of the Byzantine church on the Acropolis, besides giving invaluable help in classifying the Geometric pottery found at the Chalkioikos site. Miss K. Chrimes, of the British School at Rome, stayed for a fortnight, and assisted, during Mr. Box's absence, in keeping the marble-inventory, and in checking inscription-copies for the Director.

Our main activities were again devoted to the Theatre and the Acropolis. At the former we have now completed the uncovering of the stage-region, and have cleared a wide strip in front of the E. Parodos-wall as far east as the foot of the exterior staircase mentioned in the last Report. This staircase, and the bastion supporting it, have survived in good preservation as regards the lower courses: five courses of the marble facing of the latter are standing, above the torus-moulding, to a total height of more than three metres above the marble pavement, much of which remains *in situ;* and of the stairs, four complete steps and part of a fifth were found in position, with indications of eight more, in the form of foundations, or of cuttings on the inner wall. We also found pieces of the coping from the balustrade of this stairway, and replaced two blocks of it in their original places. In clearing this region, which again involved the laborious removal of much fallen material from the retaining-wall, two hoards of small Byzantine copper coins, apparently all of the twelfth century, came to light near the surface; and at the Roman level several inscriptions, including seven more blocks, practically complete, and more than a dozen smaller fragments, from the series engraved on the E. Parodos-wall. Four more similar texts were found inscribed on the bastion close to the foot of the stairs, and an epigram dating, it seems, from the fourth century after Christ, on a rough columnar base, was found *in situ* adjoining the corner of the bastion. This relates to a Proconsul of the name of Anatolius, 'who saved all from doom, and rebuilt ruined Sparta' after some unnamed catastrophe. Lying further west, close against the foot of the wall, was a headless draped female statue, of more than life-size, in white marble, perhaps not later than the second century of our era; there is no inscription or other clue

to aid in identifying the subject. Along the W. Parodos-wall we also cleared a wide strip, as far as the projection of the corresponding bastion, located last year, and found the *poros* foundations of some uncertain structure, possibly a colonnade. Excavating still further westwards we found that this west bastion did not after all carry a staircase; and it is doubtful if it was originally marble-faced for its whole length. Apparently there was no regular approach to the stage-region from this side, where the original ground-level proves to have been considerably higher than on the east.

Although we have now completely cleared the stage, its architectural history seems even more complicated than was thought a year ago. There is little change to suggest in the relative order of the different structural remains, but we must recognise that they underwent more changes and modifications than was then realised. The early wall, thought to be possibly Hellenistic, now seems much more likely to be contemporary with the *cavea*, and thus of Augustan date, and was found to project westwards beyond the later stage-buildings. The *Scenae Frons*, as a result of further study, proves to have had alterations both in plan and level. Originally a straight wall, without returns, and pierced with a central doorway, which was flanked by five openings on each side, it was later turned into a solid wall by blocking up these openings; and on the side facing the Orchestra a ledge was made, at a height of about 1·40 metres above the old ground-level, to carry the colonnade which had been recognised in the previous campaign. Later again, it appears, two doorways, one to each side of the central portal, and wider than the openings of the first period, were cut through the wall, to communicate with the series of rooms built behind the stage proper. These rooms have been completely cleared, and work out according to our expectations; but a most surprising discovery was made in the east room, namely, an archaic Pithos, complete, and with its surface scarcely damaged, bearing ornament in relief, representing two chariots, with armed drivers, and a hoplite on foot behind each. Similar scenes are known on Pithos-fragments from Sparta, but our example is not from a known mould, and has the additional interest of having survived in use down to early Imperial times. It was associated with the level of the stage foundations attributed to the Augustan period, and seems to have served then as a rain-butt, for it was fitted with two terracotta pipes leading from the neck towards the drains in the street behind the theatre. A portion of this street, with elaborate tile-drains, was also cleared, and a massive foundation on the far side of it, of which a corner was uncovered near the end of the season, may belong to some important building which we must investigate in our next campaign. Other discoveries of interest at the Theatre must be passed over more summarily. Two inscribed architrave-fragments, one with the name of Valerius Maximianus, the other with that of Honorius, are of value for the later chronology of the site; and the finding, just behind the *hyposcenium*-wall, of several extensive rubbish-pits, one of which yielded nearly thirty coins, mostly of the second and third centuries of our era,

suggests that for some time the stage-region must have been abandoned—long before the catastrophe referred to in the epigram quoted above.

The Acropolis.—In this region, where Mr. Tait was in charge of the work, we almost completed the excavation of the votive deposit in the area between the Chalkioikos Sanctuary-wall and the back wall of the *cavea ;* and there only remain undug a narrow strip along the centre, left as a barrow-track, and a rather larger piece at the south-west corner of the deposit, where the clay layer attains a formidable depth above the richer layers below. The principal discovery of the season was that of another building, to the south of the area concerned, of which we have now cleared portions of the north and west walls for a length of nine and two-and-a-half metres respectively. Nothing is standing above the foundations, which rest on undisturbed clay, and are nowhere more than three courses high; and except at the north-west corner, where roughly squared stones are used, they consist of small unworked stones and cobbles. As their thickness is little more than half a metre, they can have carried no very massive building: possibly their superstructure was of unbaked brick, and it may have been merely a *temenos*-wall, but until the building has been fully cleared we cannot feel sure of its nature or its exact date. It was observed, however, that, whilst the stratification in general was confused, as in the deposit excavated further north in the two previous campaigns, the earth immediately north of the building contained an unusually high proportion of Laconian pottery, including substantial remains of several fine painted vases of the Laconian II, III, and IV styles. It also appeared that these represent debris from our newly-found building, and are not part of the imported filling contemporary with the building of the Theatre. We may provisionally date the building as early as the seventh century, and regard it as having continued in use until the fifth, if not later.

Other interesting finds from the vicinity of the building included a piece of an archaic terracotta relief, shewing Odysseus and the ram, a small gaily-painted votive shield of the same material, and two marble *halteres*, one of which bore an incised dedication to Athena. Fragments of sculpture in Parian marble include a piece from a male left arm, which must be ascribed almost certainly to the "Leonidas" statue found last year; small pieces of drapery, of a shield, and a snake's head (from an Aegis), all shewing remains of paint, which suggest an Athena statue, of early fifth-century date, and rather less than life-size; and a small relief-fragment, which shews the head of Athena in a charming style reminiscent of the base with the reliefs of the ball-players, etc., found in Athens in 1922. The full excavation of this building, which will be far from easy, as it lies partly beneath the back wall of the *cavea* at a depth of nearly twelve feet, is an urgent duty, and may be expected to yield further finds of considerable importance. The finds from the rest of this region are on the whole of minor importance, but several additions must be recorded to the range of pottery represented, which now includes for the

first time a few small pieces which seem to be Mycenaean, and some coarse ware, apparently of local fabric, which we have provisionally styled 'Helot ware.'

Extensive trials were also made east of the Chalkioikos, with a view to testing the presence (1) of an entrance to the centre of the *cavea* direct from the Acropolis, and (2) of votive deposits or other indications of another sanctuary adjacent. Our results were mostly negative, but shewed that this region had been occupied in later Imperial times by a mass of houses, which had mostly destroyed the earlier levels, and had encroached even on the uppermost seats of the Theatre; and we found that a small (domestic?) bath was built up against its back wall, near the centre. An interesting clue to its date was obtained, for we found, in addition to various fragments of architectural marbles built in to it, a coin of Gordian III in the wall-mortar. In the immediate neighbourhood were other much-broken marbles, including a voussoir-block, and fragments of architrave, which make it possible that there was an arched entrance, presumably to the Theatre, hereabouts. Another important find was that of a large number of deliberately-broken fragments—not yet fully studied or restored—, of a Latin inscription in monumental lettering, which includes the word *Aug.* repeated three times, the name of the Emperor Tiberius, and the phrases *Pont. Max.* and *Trib. Potest.*; this too might perhaps have belonged to our assumed entrance. Among other inscriptions found close at hand were six fragments of a decree, probably of the third century B.C. (to which joins a piece found in 1925 nearly 100 yards away), and an archaic dedication to Athena in three lines on an ornate stele. For the presence of other sanctuaries our evidence was most disappointing; though we found some early wall-foundations in *poros* there were scarcely any finds associated with them, with the noteworthy exception of an incomplete ivory relief, of good style, like those from the Orthia-Sanctuary, shewing a man leading a horse. (This is of interest also as the first ivory relief which the Acropolis has yielded.)

Further east, Mr. Cuttle successfully elucidated the plan of the Byzantine church (H. Nikon?) which he had partly cleared in 1925. He found that it was a Basilica, the roof having been carried on two rows of six columns each; two of the bases, which looked like re-used Roman work of fairly good period, were in position on the north side, and a fallen column belonging to the south side was also identified. The date is till uncertain, owing to the unusual combination of a nave with columns and a triple angular apse, but we have established the presence of two Byzantine periods in the church, represented by different floor-levels, and below the earlier floor were traces of an Hellenistic settlement, and of a more extensive Roman one. To the latter belong the numerous terracotta figurines and moulds for their manufacture found in both campaigns, along with fragments of Arretine ware. This settlement, which seems after all to have been merely domestic in character, occupied only the southern half of the church-site, but a wall of apparently Hellenistic date

extended nearly its whole width, almost in line with the position of the screen of the church above it.

Excavations at Vardaróftsa.—The excavation began on March 1st, and ended March 31st. Only two working days were lost on account of weather. Mr. Tait assisted during the first week and Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Cuttle during the rest of the time. The party lived under canvas, Mrs. Heurtley acting as cook throughout.

(1) *The Toumba.*—Virgin soil was reached at a depth of 17½ metres. As the appearance of Mycenaean (L.H. III *b*) pottery in the twenty-first half-metre gives a fixed chronological point, and also coincides with a change in the style of building, the strata can be classified as I. Pre-Mycenaean, II. Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean, III. Post-Mycenaean, IV. Hellenistic.

Stratum I.—Stratum I can be subdivided into I *a*, I *b*, I *c*. In I *a* several complete vases were recovered, which shew close affinity with the pottery of Troy II. I *b* is a transitional stage between I *a* and I *c*, in which first occurs the chalk-filled incised pottery with simple designs (Class 2), to be distinguished from a still earlier and simpler type (Class I), of which two specimens were found in I *a*, and also from the more elaborate spiral-meander-incised ware (Class 3) of the succeeding stratum (I *c*). I *c* marks the definite installation of new elements, the spiral-meander-incised just mentioned, 'purple-on-buff' painted pottery, and of large bi-conical vases in a smooth hand-polished fabric, which continue throughout the Mycenaean stratum. There is reason for dating the beginning of I *c* at about 1600 B.C. The whole of Stratum I was 7 metres thick and may cover a period of 1000 years (2300–1300 B.C.).

Stratum II.—Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean. Stratum II was 6½ metres thick. It falls into two periods (II *a* and II *b*). Mycenaean sherds were numerous, beginning with L.H. 3*b*: otherwise the pottery is a continuation of the preceding. Brick-terraces at various levels account for the rapid accumulation of the deposit. II *b* is a burnt layer (1½ metres thick) containing the debris of at least three successive settlements. It coincides roughly with the sub-Mycenaean age, but as typical sub-Mycenaean sherds occur in the half-metre above it, its end should be assigned to about 1050 B.C. Its beginning must be placed about 1100 B.C. or a little earlier. It indicates a period of violent disturbance, while the appearance of a new class of pottery provides evidence of the direction from which that disturbance came. One vase (which can be restored) may be taken as typical of the class. It is a large two-handled bowl with wide trumpet-shaped neck and low-spreading body, on a small conical foot. The sharp division between the two parts is accentuated by the vertical fluting on the body, and the handles also are strongly fluted. The fabric is badly-levigated black clay, firing to grey in places, and highly polished. There were fragments of five similar vases, some unpolished, and several handles and rims of bowls with the same fluted technique. Some of the vases have small knobs.

Along with these were undecorated vases of rather similar shape with high vertical handles rising above the rim. There can be little doubt that this pottery is of Central European origin, though its exact provenance is uncertain. It has affinity with the 'bückel-Keramik' of Troy VII, and may be due to an earlier invasion of the 'bückel-Keramik' people whose home is generally located in Hungary. Its association on the mound with sub-Mycenaean pottery and with traces of violence affords striking evidence for the view that Northerners were on the confines of Greece at the end of the twelfth century B.C. At the same time it explains certain elements in the pottery of the next stratum (III *a*), which is now seen to be not the pottery of the invaders themselves, but to have been formed by a fusion of the local pottery with that of the invaders. There is reason to think that the invaders passed into Thessaly, taking this mixed style with them, out of which, as a result of further contact with sub-Mycenaean and with local Thessalian, arose the Thessalian Early Geometric style of Marmariani, Theotokou and other sites.

Stratum III.—The pottery of Stratum III was described in last year's Report. There are two periods (III *a* and III *b*), the latter distinguished by stone house-foundations with *pithoi* and by the appearance of a few imported sixth-, fifth- and fourth-century Hellenic sherds.

Stratum IV.—Stratum IV is a settlement (which must have been largely Greek) of the fourth century B.C. On the debris of this a few houses were built on the summit in the third century B.C.

[W. A. H.]

(2) *The 'High Table.'*—Last year's excavations were followed up by the digging of a pit down to virgin soil, which was found at a depth of nearly eight metres. The earliest deposit belonged to a period when the Mycenaean influence had not wholly disappeared from the painted pottery; the earliest occupation of this part of the site seems to have occurred at the end of the period represented on the Toumba itself by the appearance of *kantharoi*—fragments of which occur on the Table—and post-Mycenaean incised ware. Above this stratum, of which the sole house-remains consisted of a single row of stones, came two more pre-Greek layers, distinguished by remnants of daub-and-wattle houses; a beam-hole, 20 cm. deep, was found, with traces of wood adhering to the edges. There is little development in the pottery, but even at this time there was some importation from the South, while the precursors of the later 'scraped' ware make their appearance. At the end of the fifth, or the beginning of the fourth, century B.C. a mass of stiff yellow clay more than a metre thick was laid down on top of these earlier settlements, and on this a stout stone wall, of which four courses remain, was built, perhaps as a defence for the place. With this are associated, as well as much local pottery, numerous Greek imports, which increase until in the topmost levels they are characteristic, and date the last occupation to the course of the third century. An interesting find close to the wall was a little bronze bird in the tradition of

the well-known Geometric birds that occur both in Macedonia and outside it. But this late example is of developed form. The 'scraped' ware referred to above is a local product that arose out of the primitive wares; it held its own for a time with the sophisticated imports from Attica, but finally Hellenistic mass-products drove it from the field.

[W. L. C.]

Haliartos.—Mr. R. P. Austin carried out trial excavations, during four weeks commencing March 30th, at Haliartos in Boeotia, with the object of establishing the plan of the ancient walls of the city and testing the future possibilities of the site. The Director was present for the first two days. The first half of the work was devoted to determining the position and character of the Acropolis-walls, and the second to excavating part of a Sanctuary and adjacent buildings on the Acropolis. The number of men employed did not exceed six.

(1) *The Acropolis*, which is roughly rectangular, with sides between 200 and 300 metres in length, proved to have remains of fortification-walls of five distinct styles, the earliest being of the Mycenaean period, and the latest of uncertain date, perhaps Roman Imperial, or even later. The intermediate styles appear only in patches, sometimes replacing, sometimes built on top of, an earlier wall. The Mycenaean wall, which survives to an average height of a metre above the present surface, is best preserved on the south, and the southern portion of the west side, and a much-destroyed entrance was uncovered at the south-west angle, probably approached from the lower level outside by a ramp. The wall of the second period, which resembles in style the archaic walls of Orchomenos, is built of squared blocks, with the outer faces left rough; the lines of the courses are not strictly horizontal, and the upright joints are not always vertical. This wall, of which a well-preserved portion on the west of the Acropolis exhibits six to eight courses above the ground-level, is perhaps to be dated to the seventh century B.C. The third period is represented by a construction of massive polygonal blocks, carefully faced and well-jointed, set upright on one or more foundation-courses of large, flat, squared blocks, laid horizontally. The best-preserved portions are at the south-east angle, near which are the remains of two towers, and on the south slope. As a similar style of masonry, of less coarse execution, was found to be used for the *peribolos*-wall of the Sanctuary (see below), which seems to date from the late sixth or early fifth century, we have a probable date for the fortification-wall also. To the fourth period belongs a wall of squared blocks of soft reddish or yellowish limestone, of which, owing to its friable nature, none is preserved above the present surface. The most important remains of it consist of the foundations, eight courses high, of a tower which came to light near the south-west angle. Digging in front of this revealed a deposit of black-glazed sherds, including fourth-century types, and the style of the masonry is appropriate to this date. An interesting gateway of this

period, which came to light in the west wall, has two of its three threshold-blocks *in situ*, and in one of them are cuttings for a door-stop, and the hole to receive the vertical bolt of the gate. This gateway was buried beneath the line of the wall of the fifth period, of which extensive remains are visible on the surface. It has an uniform thickness of about two metres, and is built of small stones with mortar-filling. A well-preserved stretch runs across the whole width of the southern height of the Acropolis, inside the older walls, and enough is preserved to shew that it must have made almost, if not quite, a complete circuit of the Acropolis; there are the remains of several towers on the south and west sides. No evidence came to light to suggest an exact date for it, and Mr. Austin suggests that it must in any case be later than the sack of the city by Lucretius in 171 B.C., perhaps by many centuries.

(2) *The Sanctuary.*—This area, situated close to the highest point of the Acropolis, could not be fully cleared with the time and means at the excavator's disposal. So far there have come to light considerable portions of a *peribolos*-wall, of polygonal masonry, in the form of a flattened semicircle, whose greatest length is about 36 metres, and the foundations of the west end of the temple which it enclosed, consisting of four courses of massive limestone blocks, which shew the width of the temple to have been just over seven metres. Much destruction has taken place, and the masonry seems to have been robbed from most of the longer sides; nor could the eastern wall be found. At the south-west of the area enclosed, a flight of four steps leads down to a narrow passage between the outer face of the *peribolos* and the north end of another rectangular building, also built in the polygonal style, of which the dimensions are about 21 by 9 metres; the walls are preserved to a height of about a metre above the foundations. Its purpose is uncertain, but the remains of a large number of coarse jars suggest that it was a store-chamber used in connection with the Sanctuary. Of the Sanctuary itself, pieces of a Doric column-drum of *poros* with a stucco facing, and of mutule-and-gutta fragments in the same material, with traces of paint, help to give some idea of the architectural style; some pieces of terracotta revetment are unluckily too much damaged to help in this connection. The evidence from the pottery and other small objects found points to an occupation lasting at least from the sixth to the fourth century B.C.; the former includes an unusual-looking sherd which may be an Ionian import, many small skyphoi of 'Proto-Corinthian' type, and a latish r.f. piece, and there are coins of the fourth century. Mr. Austin suggests, in view of the style of building and the finds, that the date of the temple may be shortly before, or after, 500 B.C.

More excavation will be needed to identify the deity to whom the temple was dedicated, to discover whether an earlier temple preceded that found, and to account for the presence of the Mycenaean pottery, of which large quantities were found towards the east of the Sanctuary-area. At any rate it has been shewn, thanks to Mr. Austin's careful preliminary work, that this important

site is one which will fully repay an excavation on a larger scale; and it is to be hoped that the School may be able to undertake it, in the not too remote future, without prejudice to its principal activities at Sparta.

The Library.—The past session has been uneventful, as little remained to be done in the way of re-arrangement, and the necessity of a strict economy in purchases makes the list of accessions noticeably smaller than that recorded last year. Nevertheless, the completion of the rearrangement and of the re-cataloguing of the pamphlets, which are now collected in boxes placed on the shelves corresponding with their contents, makes for facility of reference. The long-needed expansion of our shelf-space has been met to some extent by the provision of additional shelving at the north end, where the existing shelves will be carried up about one metre higher, giving about fifty-five feet of book-space in all. This work will be completed before next session, and will permit both expansion and improved arrangement of various important and congested sections, such as Architecture and Greek Topography. The year's grant was largely consumed by costs of binding and repairs, and by purchases of works in continuation. Among the latter attention may be called to the acquisition of new parts of Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenmalerei;* Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes;* the *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte,* as far as issued; *Miletos* (I. 8, costing £8); and 300 more photographs in the *Einzelaufnahmen* Series. Six missing volumes have also been purchased to complete our run of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri.*

Again we have a gratifying list of gifts to record, conspicuous among which are *Olympia* and *Greek Athletic Sports,* by their author, Dr. E. N. Gardiner; *The History of the Society of Dilettanti* (revised edn.) by George A. Macmillan, Esq.; the new edition of Liddell and Scott (Pt. I. and promise of the remainder as issued) by Miss Hutton; Mr. S. Casson has presented his recent *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria,* and some other works lacking from our travel-sections; and Dr. William Miller has again made generous additions both to the Finlay and to the main Library. Professor J. D. Beazley has presented his *Attische Vasenmaler,* and Professor P. Kavvadias his Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Τέχνης. We are also indebted to the following bodies for gifts of books and pamphlets:—the Trustees of the British Museum, the Clarendon Press, the Government of India, the American Academy in Rome, the Archaeological Institute of America, the French Ministry of Public Instruction, the University of Uppsala, the Royal Literary Society of Lund, Sweden, the Malta Museum, the Museo Preistorico, Rome, the Museums of Alexandria and Sofia, the Archaeological Societies of Alexandria, Athens and Belgrade, the Société Scientifique de Skoplje, and the Community of Drama, Macedonia.

Books and pamphlets, in addition to those cited above, have been kindly presented by the following authors:—K. Amantos, Professor A. S. Arvanitopoullos, C. W. Blegen, Professor W. Dörpfeld, S. Eitrem, Sir Arthur Evans, Dr. H. Frankfort, H.E. Monsieur John Gennadios, E. Gjerstadt, A. Herrman, Dr.

J. J. E. Hondius, Professor P. Jacobsthal, Dr. P. Th. Justesen (ten pamphlets on Homeric terminology), D. P. Kambouroglou, Professor G. Karo, Dr. E. Kjellberg, A. W. Lawrence, A. Levi, B. D. Meritt, Dr. Ph. Negris, B. Olsson, G. N. Philaretos, St. Photiades, Professor F. Poulsen, Dr. G. Rodenwaldt, Dr. G. Soderstrom, Professor H. J. W. Tillyard.

Miscellaneous gifts of books and pamphlets have also been received from W. L. Cuttle, Mrs. De Jong, Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Milne, L. Rey. No gift during the session was more welcomed than that by Mr. John Finley, Jr., who gave us Rostovtseff, *Iranians and Greeks* (to replace our previous copy which had unaccountably disappeared).

Our Periodical shelves have been strengthened by the acquisition of four *Beihefte* of *Klio*, needed to complete our series (in exchange for certain volumes of the *Annual*), and some missing numbers of the *Revue Archéologique* have been secured. Any subscribers or other friends of the School who could procure for us the numbers of this periodical for 1917–1919, inclusive, and those for 1921 (except Nov.–Dec.) would earn the especial gratitude of the Committee and the Librarian. The only new exchange to record is that with the new Roumanian School in Rome, for their publication *Ephemeris Dacoromana*.

The total number of accessions for 1925–26 was 235, of which 70 were pamphlets, and 58 bound volumes of periodicals.

Acknowledgments.—Once again the Director, Assistant-Director and the Committee in general wish to acknowledge their indebtedness for courteous help and various facilities and privileges to Dr. K. Kourouniotis, head of the Archaeological Section of the Ministry of Education in Athens, and to the other officials of that Service. A special expression of thanks is here tendered to the Ephors of Laconia (Dr. K. Karachalios), of Macedonia (Dr. S. Pelekidis), and of Boeotia, Phokis, etc. (Dr. N. Papadakis), for their friendly co-operation and support in connection with the School's excavations in their respective districts.

The cordial relations with our colleagues of the other Archaeological Schools continue most satisfactorily. The only change to record is the arrival of Professor Pierre Roussel of Strasbourg to succeed M. Ch. Picard, as Director of the French School.

To the British Legation our thanks are again tendered for friendly interest and support, and for varied services. We learn with real regret that Sir Milne and Lady Cheetham are leaving Athens for Copenhagen before the end of the year. The withdrawal of the last British Naval Mission, under Admiral Townsend, has also deprived the School of several good friends. We note also with special regret that Dr. W. A. Wigram, Chaplain to the British Legation, has left Athens after a residence of four years. The School is much indebted to him for his successful appeals on behalf of its funds to many visitors to Athens

who might not otherwise have realised even its existence. Our acknowledgments are likewise offered to H.M. Consular Service, whose members have helped us in various ways. In addition to the Staff in Athens we wish to thank particularly Messrs. Crow and King, respectively Consul-General and Consul at Salonika, and Mr. Elliadi, Vice-Consul at Candia.

We are again, in fact more than ever, indebted to Mr. G. L. Bailey, Manager, and other members of the Staff of the Lake Copais Company, for their hospitality and invaluable help in connection with Mr. Austin's excavations at Haliartos, close to their headquarters. Their assistance in the provision of labour and tools was particularly welcome, and valuable aid given in surveying the site must not pass unrecorded. In connection with Mr. Heurtley's work in Macedonia, grateful thanks are tendered to Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Bliss, of the Anglo-Hellenic Magnesite Company, at Yerakini, to Captain Menzies, of the Imperial War Graves Commission, and to Mr. A. G. Roberts, of the Foundation Company, at Amatovo, for hospitality and other services.

For gifts of various sorts we wish to thank the following :—Miss M. V. Clarke, for a portrait of her brother, the late Mr. S. S. Clarke; and Mr. Eric Maclagan for an etched portrait of Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith, for the portrait-gallery in the Hostel Dining-room. Sir William Erskine, K.C.V.O., British Minister at Sofia, has generously provided a charming addition to the amenities of the garden, in the form of a small twisted marble column, of Italian origin; and certain friends of the School among the British Colony, who have enjoyed the use of the tennis-court, have shewn their appreciation by a welcome gift of a new net and balls, namely, Lady Cheetham, Sir Robert Graves, Admiral Townsend, Colonel Giles, Commander and Mrs. Hunter, and Mrs. Meikle.

Obituary.—The death, during the month of August, of Sir William Ridgeway, Disney Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge, has deprived the School of a friend of long standing. Though not of recent years a member of the Committee, no one was a keener supporter of the work of the School, and many generations of students who came to it from Cambridge bore the impress of his stimulating enthusiasm for all branches of classical learning in its best and widest sense, and in turn enabled him to keep closely in touch with the numerous activities of the School.

We have to record with deep regret the death of two other friends of the School: Prof. J. S. Reid, who for many years was a member of the Committee and was always ready to further our interests at Cambridge; and Mr. S. H. Barnsley, who was one of the earliest architectural students and joint author with Mr. R. S. Weir of the Monograph on the Church of St. Luke in Stiris.

Finance.—The Revenue Account for the year shows a credit balance of £984 0*s.* 11*d.* as compared with a debit balance of £1451 7*s.* 10*d.* for the preceding year. The improvement in results thus shown is unfortunately more

apparent than real, as the accounts, while they include exceptionally high receipts from the sales of the *Annual*, are only debited with a small portion of the cost of the forthcoming number, and the contributions to the Sparta Fund during the year exceed by £300 the amount actually expended during the year. Unfortunately the whole of this £300 and more will be required for next year's campaign at Sparta. If the results of the two last financial years are combined, the total loss on Revenue Account is no less than £467. The Capital Account shows a credit balance of £223 19*s.* 2*d.* It is satisfactory, however, to be able to point to a substantial increase in Annual Subscriptions, which have risen from £776 to £840. This is mainly due to an active campaign among the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, who have in many cases responded generously to the appeals made to them. Nevertheless the total of Annual Subscriptions is still substantially below the level reached before the War, while the expenses are, of necessity, very considerably larger than in those days. It follows therefore that if the high standard of the work carried out by the School is to be maintained, further financial support must be forthcoming.

MR. J. PENOYRE moved the following motion which was seconded by PROFESSOR J. P. DROOP and carried unanimously:

> "That MISS C. A. HUTTON, PROFESSOR ERNEST GARDNER, PROFESSOR R. M. DAWKINS and MR. G. W. RENDEL be re-elected members of the Committee, that MR. V. W. YORKE be re-elected Hon. Treasurer and that MR. M. S. THOMPSON be re-elected Hon. Secretary of the School."

The PRIME MINISTER then moved the adoption of the Report.

They were extremely grateful to the Greek Government, he said, for having allowed the Villa Ariadne and the site of the Palace of Knossos, the property of Sir Arthur Evans, to be transferred to the School on the most favourable possible terms. He was speaking in the presence of experts. The only form of excavation with which he was familiar was the excavation of coal, but he had for many years taken a great interest in the work of the School, not as a student, but as a humble onlooker and sympathiser.

He had often wondered, when modern excavators went digging up the treasures of people who lived more than 2,000 years ago, what would be the "finds" of those who might come and dig up London 2,000 or 3,000 years hence, when all our towns were covered by a mass of debris, and whether there would then be nations who would take so much interest in us as to send out parties of excavators. He also wondered whether they would find vases of exquisite design, on which a Keats of the period might write an ode; or bronzes, idealising the human figure, or other works shewing the individuality of the

artist and crying across the ages because of their intrinsic beauty. He had had to confess to himself that such excavators, in the year 5000 A.D., would be far more likely to find midden heaps of Gillette blades and coils of gas-pipes, no doubt of extraordinary aptitude for the purposes for which they were designed and perhaps consummate in their way. Even so, it seemed to him, there would be lacking in the surviving products of our generation something which modern excavators looked for when they went to Hellas to dig. Judged by the remnants which might be found, judged by the outside setting of our mass-production, of which we were so proud, what view would the generations after us take of our civilisation and mentality?

Nothing struck us more in examining the objects discovered by the School at Athens than the individual care of the artist and the way in which his personality was so often wrought into the very stuff that he had left for us. Plutarch said that ease and speed in doing a thing did not give work lasting solidity or exactness of beauty, and that the expenditure of time allowed to a man's pains beforehand for the production of a thing was repaid with interest. There were never, and there never would be, treasures more worth finding than those which the School at Athens was in search of up and down Greece. To him there was a touching significance in the fact that the search party that was going to Sparta should have its base at Athens. It was very much as though a search party were to put up at the Lime-street Hotel at Liverpool to excavate Manchester, or stay at Edinburgh to excavate Glasgow.

He liked to think of the earth being stirred over grim Sparta. To all boys there was a peculiar appeal in Sparta. Most of them, he thought, preferred her to Athens, and preferred Leonidas to Alcibiades, although Alcibiades was a much more successful character in the modern world than Leonidas. There was something in Spartan discipline and mode of life that appealed to strenuous youth, and it might be the cherished recollections of far distant days that made him feel a thrill at the thought of the investigations of the School in Sparta.

That work could not be carried on without expense, and it was for financial support that he desired to appeal. To those who felt that their own lives had been enriched by the legacy of Greece no words were necessary, but those who affected to despise Greek, and who believed they saw more clearly without any knowledge of it, he would remind of one service for humanity which the Greeks had performed. September of the year 490 B.C. was, to his mind, a more cardinal moment of fate for Europe than August 1914. Western civilisation, with its merits and its faults, was saved in its infancy at Marathon. Had it not been for the decade beginning then there would have been nothing to prevent Eastern Europe being Orientalised, and the ultimate fight for the hegemony of Europe would have been left to the Persians and the Carthaginians. But for the Greeks there would have been no civilisation as we knew it, and we should all have been dark-skinned people with long noses.

He had neither the time nor the knowledge to discuss our debt to Greece, but he realised dimly, as one who, with others, was attempting to conduct the destinies of the leading country in the world in liberty and freedom, what we owed to those city States who first delivered the West and set it on that path which we, haltingly at times, but not inconsistently, had endeavoured to tread for so long. England was the natural home of liberty and free institutions, and no other country, in her endeavour to secure these blessings for the world, ought to be quicker to acknowledge her debt to Hellas, and to remember that, as was said long ago, "The sons of freedom set a stone that freedom stands on yet."

His Excellency, D. CACLAMANOS, Greek Minister at the Court of St. James, seconded the adoption of the Report, which was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

MR. A. M. WOODWARD, the Director of the School, then gave an account illustrated by lantern slides of the excavations of the School at Sparta.

After a vote of thanks to the Prime Minister, moved by MR. G. A. MACMILLAN and carried with applause, proceedings came to an end.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1925–1926.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE.

3RD OCTOBER, 1925, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1926.

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received during the year	840	8	0
Subscriptions received for the year 1924–1925	22	5	0
Government Grant	500	0	0
Grant by the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851	200	0	0
Interest on Investments to July 5th, 1926	210	0	0
Interest on Deposit to June 30th, 1926	7	12	10
Sale of Annuals (Vols. I–XXV)	470	12	5
Rents for Hostel	174	0	0
Special Donations for Excavations at Sparta	853	7	0
	£3,278	5	3

	£	s.	d.
House Maintenance (as provided from London to August 31st 1926)	162	17	9
Hostel Maintenance (as provided from London to August 31st 1926)	295	1	0
Salary—Director	500	0	0
Salary—Assistant Director	200	0	0
Salary—Architect	100	0	0
Salary—Assistant Secretary	10	0	0
Publication of *Annual*	108	13	8
Rent	10	0	0
Printing, Postage, etc.	75	2	1
Audit Fee	5	5	0
Expenditure on Excavations at Sparta	550	12	3
Studentship (Mr. Box)	100	0	0
Secretarial Assistance (Athens)	40	11	6
Sundry Expenses	50	18	4
Special repairs to Director's House	51	0	0
Legal expenses on transfer of property at Knossos	34	2	9
Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure	984	0	11
	£3,278	5	3

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1925, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1926.

	£	s.	d.
Donations as per List	284	19	10
Entrance Fees	28	7	0
	£313	6	10

	£	s.	d.
Library	89	7	8
Balance being Excess of Receipts over Expenditure	223	19	2
	£313	6	10

BALANCE ACCOUNT—2ND OCTOBER, 1926.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions paid in advance	11	9	0	*Investments*—			
Anniversary Fund	289	0	6	£2,000 India 3% Stock at par; £3,000 5% War Stock at 95	4,850	0	0
The Gustav Sachs Trust Fund (Income)	113	10	3	Cash at Bank	330	7	7
Macedonian Exploration Fund	93	11	4	Cash on Deposit	500	0	0
Fund for the support of Anna Sokrides	52	15	0	Advance to Director	64	0	8
Balance, representing the assets of the School other than land, buildings and library as per last account (£ 3,976 2 1)							
Add Balance of Revenue Account for the year £984 0 11							
Add Balance of Capital Account for the year £223 19 2							
(£ 1,208 0 1)	5,184	2	2				
	£5,744	8	3		£5,744	8	3

THE GUSTAV SACHS TRUST FUND.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1925, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1926.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account	80	4	3	Balance to be carried forward	113	10	3
Interest from Investments	33	6	0				
	£113	10	3		£113	10	3

THE MACEDONIAN EXPLORATION FUND.

3RD OCTOBER, 1925, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1926.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account	153	11	4	To Grant (Mr. W. A. Heurtley)	60	0	0
				Balance	93	11	4
	£153	11	4		£153	11	4

Examined, checked, and found correct,
W. CRANSTOUN TODD,
3 Cannon St., London, E.C. 4.
Chartered Accountant.

21 *October*, 1926.

DONATIONS—1925–1926.

	£	s.	d.
All Souls' College	50	0	0
Benton, Miss	2	2	0
Buckler, W. H.	3	3	0
Culler, F.		10	0
Dickson, Miss	1	0	0
Edgar, C. C.	5	0	0
S.S. *Friuli*, Passengers of	38	13	4
Glyn, Mills & Co.	5	5	0
Hertford College	5	0	0
Lunn, Sir H.	105	0	0
Queen's College, Oxford	5	0	0
Rush, Mrs.	3	0	0
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	£284	19	10

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Carried forward	£26	6	0

	£	s.	d.
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Brought forward	436	4	0
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	£	s.	d.
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Carried forward	£557	19	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	557	19	0
Halliday, Miss C.	1	0	0
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Hett, Capt. W. S.	1	1	0
Hill, G. F.	2	2	0
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Lloyd, Miss M. E. H.	1	1	0
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Pickard-Cambridge, A. W.	2	2	0
Carried forward	£751	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	751	10	0
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Robinson, Dr. W.	2	2	0
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Carried forward	£791	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	791	1	0
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Wace, A. J. B.	2	2	0
Wagner, H.	2	2	0
Walker, J. S.	2	2	0
Walker, Mrs. J. S.	1	1	0
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Welch, F. B.	5	0	0
Wells, J.	2	2	0
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Gardner, Prof. Percy, Litt.D., 12, Canterbury Road, Oxford.
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*Low, Miss J. I., Blebo, Cupar, Fife.
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Provost, The, of Eton, The College, Eton.

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*Tillyard, Prof. H. J. W., University College, Cardiff.
Tod, M. N., Esq., O.B.E., Oriel College, Oxford.
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Ure, Prof. P. N., University College, Reading.
Usher, Rev. P., British Legation, Athens.

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Whatley, N. W., Esq., Clifton College, Bristol.
Whibley, Leonard, Esq., Woodlands, Wreccles-ham, Farnham, Surrey.
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Withers, P., Esq., Gouldern Court, Banbury.
Woodhouse, Prof. W. J., The University, Sydney, N.S.W.
Woodley, Miss, Alike, Odos Hagiou Alexandrou, Old Phaleron, Greece.
Woodward, A. M., Esq., British School, Athens.
Woodward, W. H., Esq., Burlington Fine Arts Club, 17, Savile Row, W. 1.
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*Zimmern, Prof. A. E., 43, St. James' Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1.

DIRECTORS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1927.

*F. C. PENROSE, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., 1886—1887.
ERNEST A. GARDNER, LITT.D., 1887—1895.
CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH, LL.D., C.V.O., 1895—1897.
*DAVID G. HOGARTH, M.A., C.M.G., 1897—1900.
R. CARR BOSANQUET, M.A., 1900—1906.
R. McG. DAWKINS, M.A., 1906—1914.
A. J. B. WACE, M.A., 1914—1923.
A. M. WOODWARD, M.A., 1923— .

HONORARY STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1927.

*Prof. J. B. Bury. LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt.	King's College, Cambridge. Elected 1895.
Sir Arthur J. Evans. LL.D., D.Litt., F.R.S.	Late Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Elected 1895.
Prof. J. Linton Myres. M.A., D.Sc. (Wales).	Late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Elected 1896.
Prof. Ernest Gardner. Litt.D.	Director of the School, 1887–1895. Elected 1897.
*Prof. A. van Millingen. M.A., D.D.	Professor of History at Robert College, Constantinople. Elected 1904.
*W. H. Forbes. M.A.	Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Elected 1906.
Prof. W. J. Woodhouse.	Professor in the University of Sydney. Formerly Student of the School. Elected 1908.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A.	Late Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Director of the School, 1914–1923. Elected 1912.
Prof. J. D. Beazley. M.A.	Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford. Elected 1914.
E. N. Gardiner. D.Litt.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Elected 1914.
Prof. R. McG. Dawkins. M.A.	Hon. Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Director of the School, 1906–1914. Elected 1914.
*F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Formerly Assistant Director and Librarian of the School. Elected 1915.
W. Miller. M.A.	Elected 1926.

* Deceased.

STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.[1]

1886—1927.

Ernest A. Gardner. Litt.D.	Formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Vice-Chancellor (1923—26), Yates Professor of Archaeology and Public Orator in the University of London. Admitted 1886—87 as Cambridge and Craven University Student. Director of the School, 1887—1895. Hon. Student of the School.
*David G. Hogarth. M.A., D.Litt., C.M.G.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and first Craven Fellow. Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Director of the School 1897—1900. Admitted 1886—87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
*Rupert C. Clarke. M.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Rector of Ellesborough, Bucks, and Rural Dean of Wendover. Admitted 1886—87.
F. H. H. Guillemard. M.A.,M.D.,F.L.S.,etc.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Montague R. James. Litt.D.	Provost of Eton. Late Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from the University, Cambridge.
R. Elsey Smith. F.R.I.B.A.	Professor of Architecture and Construction, University College, London. Appointed to Studentship of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1887—88.
R. W. Schultz Weir (R. Weir Schultz).	Admitted as Gold Medallist and Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90.
*Sidney H. Barnsley.	Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91.
J. A. R. Munro. M.A.	Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
H. Arnold Tubbs. M.A.	Pembroke College, Oxford. Professor of Classics at University College, Auckland, N.Z. Craven University Fellow. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
Sir J. G. Frazer. O.M., LL.D., D.C.L.	Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.
†William Loring. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Warden of Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Secretary of the School, 1897—1903. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890—91, 1891—92, and 1892—93.

[1] * Before a name signifies "deceased." † Signifies "died on Active Service." For the war-service, military and otherwise, rendered by Students of the School, see Vol. XXIII, p. viii.

* Deceased. † Died of wounds, October 22nd, 1915.

W. J. Woodhouse. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, N.S.W. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891—92 and 1892—93. Re-admitted 1908, 1921. Honorary Student of the School.
G. C. Richards. M.A.	Late Fellow of Hertford College. Canon of Durham and Professor of Greek in the University of Durham. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889—90. Re-admitted 1890—91.
O. H. Parry. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of All Hallows, East India Dock. Formerly Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889—90.
J. F. R. Stainer. M.A., B.C.L.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90.
*R.A.H.Bickford-Smith. M.A., F.S.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.
A. G. Bather. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Late Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889—90. Re-admitted 1891—92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1892—93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893—94, as Cambridge Student.
E. E. Sikes. M.A.	Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890—91.
J. G. Milne. D.Litt.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Late Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890—91.
H. Stuart Jones. M.A.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Principal of the University College of North Wales. Late Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890—91. Re-admitted 1892—93.
Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong). Litt.D. (Manchester), F.S.A.	Life Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge. Late Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. Formerly Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890—91.
F. Brayne Baker. M.A.	Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92.
C. C. Inge. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of St. Giles', Oxford. Appointed 1891—92 to the Oxford Studentship.
E. F. Benson. B.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892—93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893—94 as Craven Student; and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student.
J. G. Piddington. B.A. (J. G. Smith).	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891—92. Re-admitted 1895—96.
V. W. Yorke. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Hon. Treasurer of the School. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1893—94.

* Deceased.

J. L. Myres. D.Sc., M.A.	Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Student and Tutor of Christ Church. University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. Gladstone Professor of Greek in the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1892—93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893—94 and 1894—95. Hon. Student of the School.
R. J. G. Mayor. M.A., C.B.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892—93.
R. C. Bosanquet. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Late Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Director 1900—1906. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1895—96 and 1896—97.
Sir J. M. Cheetham. M.A., K.C.M.G.	Christ Church, Oxford. Late H.M. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Copenhagen. Admitted (Oxford Studentship) 1892—93.
E. R. Bevan. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
A. F. Findlay. M.A.	Sent out as holder of Brown-Downie Fellowship by the United Presbyterian Church, Divinity Hall, Edinburgh. Admitted 1894—95.
J. G. Duncan. M.A., B.D.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Minister of Kirkmichael, Ballindalloch, N.B. Admitted 1894—95.
J. E. Brooks. M.A.	St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
*H. Awdry. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894—95.
Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna).	Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Archaeological Curator at Knossos. Admitted 1895—96. Re-admitted 1896—97, 1897—98 and 1898—99.
Archibald Paterson.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
C. R. Rowland Clark.	Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895—96, and re-appointed 1896—97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
C. C. Edgar. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—99.
F. R. Earp. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
*F. A. C. Morrison. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
H. H. West. M.A.	Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Miss C. A. Hutton.	Girton College, Cambridge. Hon. Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. Joint Editor of the *Annual*, 1906—26. Admitted 1896—97.

* Deceased.

J. G. C. Anderson. M.A.	Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and sometime Senior Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
J. W. Crowfoot. M.A.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Late Director of Education, Sudan Government. Formerly Inspector in the Ministry of Education, Cairo. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
W. W. Reid. B.D.	Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Minister of the Church of Scotland, Dumbarton, N.B. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.
A. E. Henderson. F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.	Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1897—98. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—99, 1901—2, and 1902—3.
W. A. Curtis. D.Litt., D.D. (Edin.).	Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Regius Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh. Formerly Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen. Admitted 1897—98.
A. J. Spilsbury. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Head Master of Wakefield Grammar School. Formerly Senior Classical Master, City of London School. Admitted 1897—98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
E. B. Hoare.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, as Architectural Student.
J. C. Lawson. M.A.	Fellow, Tutor and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
C. D. Edmonds. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Berkhampstead School. Formerly at Aldenham School and at Royal Naval College, Osborne. Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898—99.
Sir John H. Marshall, Kt. C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A.	Scholar of King's College, Cambridge. Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Admitted 1898—99. Re-admitted as Prendergast Student, 1900—1, Craven Student, 1901—2.
*Clement Gutch. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898—99, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship.
F. B. Welch. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. British Representative on the Commission mixte de l'Organisation des Populations Gréco-Bulgare. Formerly Vice-Consul, Athens. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
T. D. Atkinson. F.R.I.B.A.	Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Ely, to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, and to the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College. Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898—99.
J. K. Fotheringham. M.A., D.Litt.	Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Assistant in the University Observatory, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898—99.

* Deceased.

Canon J. H. Hopkinson. M.A.	University College, Oxford. Organiser of Religious Education in the Diocese of Carlisle. Formerly Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1899—1900 and 1900—1.
*Miss O. C. Köhler (Mrs. Charles Smith).	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900.
D. Theodore Fyfe. F.R.I.B.A.	Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Chester. Master of the School of Architecture, Cambridge. Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.
†K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Lecturer at the Queen's University, Belfast. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900—1.
R. D. Wells. M.A., F.R.I.B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900—1.
John Penoyre. M.A., C.B.E.	Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British School at Athens, 1905—1919. Admitted 1900—1. Re-admitted 1906—7, 1907—8.
Marcus N. Tod. M.A., O.B.E.	Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Reader in Greek Epigraphy. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902—4. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship," 1901—2.
*F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Sometime Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director and Librarian of the School from 1906—1915. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship 1901—2. Re-admitted 1902—3, 1904—5, 1905—6. Honorary Student of the School.
C. Heaton Comyn. F.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I.	Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901—2. Re-admitted 1903—4.
Miss H. L. Lorimer.	Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901—2. Re-admitted 1910—11, 1921—22.
Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn.	Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901—2.
A. P. Oppé. B.A.	New College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Sometime Lecturer in Greek at St. Andrews University. Lecturer in Ancient History at Edinburgh University. Deputy Director and Secretary Victoria and Albert Museum. Admitted 1901—2.
W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902—3.
C. T. Currelly. M.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C.	Victoria College, Toronto. Director of the Royal Ontario Museum. Formerly Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902—3. Re-admitted 1903—4.
R. McG. Dawkins. M.A.	Hon. Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Bywater Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature in the University of Oxford. Director of the School from 1906—14. School Student. Admitted as Craven Student, 1902—3. Re-admitted 1903—4, 1904—5, 1905—6.

* Deceased. † Killed in action, September 4th, 1914.

E. S. Forster. M.A., F.S.A., M.B.E.	Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902—3. Re-admitted 1903—4, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Deputy Keeper in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Sometime Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology in the University of St. Andrews. Norton Lecturer of the American Archaeological Institute, 1923—24. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Admitted 1902—3. Re-admitted 1903—4, 1904—12. Director of the School, 1914—23. Honorary Student of the School.
†E. W. Webster. M.A.	Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy 1904. Admitted 1902—3.
J. B. Fulton. A.R.I.B.A.	Soane Student. Admitted 1902—3.
E. F. Reynolds.	Admitted 1902—3.
M. Cary. M.A. (M. O. B. Caspari.)	Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. University Scholar in German. Admitted 1903—4.
J. L. Stokes. B.A.	Formerly Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School since 1905. Admitted (as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College), 1903—4.
Miss M. K. Welsh (Mrs. A. M. Daniel).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Kennedy Studentship. Admitted 1903—4.
†G. Dickins. M.A.	Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Craven University Fellow. Admitted 1904—5, 1905—6. Re-admitted as School Student, 1906—7. Re-admitted 1907—8, 1908—9, 1912—13.
C. C. T. Doll. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Superintending Architect at the excavations at Knossos 1905—12. Admitted 1904—5.
C. H. Hawes. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Director, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Late Professor of Anthropology, Dartmouth College, U.S.A. Admitted 1904—5, 1908—9.
W. A. Kirkwood. M.A. (Harvard), Ph.D. (Harvard).	University College, Toronto. Registrar of Trinity College, Toronto. Admitted 1904—5.
H. J. W. Tillyard. M.A., D.Litt. (Edinburgh).	Caius College, Cambridge. Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Late Reader in Russian, University of Birmingham. Formerly Lecturer in Greek, University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1904—5 as Assistant Librarian. Re-admitted 1905—6 (on appointment to Studentship), 1906—7, 1908—9. Re-admitted 1912—13.
Miss G. M. A. Richter. Litt.D.	Girton College, Cambridge. Associate Curator in Department of Classical Antiquities, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Admitted 1904—5.

† Killed in action, April 9th, 1917. † Died of wounds, July 17th, 1916.

J. P. Droop. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Late Assistant to Dr. Stein in the arrangement of his collections. Admitted 1905—6, 1906—7 (Prendergast Student), 1907—8 (School Student), 1908—9, 1910—11, 1912—13, 1913—14. Re-admitted 1921—22.
Miss M. Hamilton. M.A., D.Litt. (Mrs. L. Caskey).	University of St. Andrews. Holder of a Research Fellowship under the Carnegie Trust. Admitted 1905—6, 1906—7.
A. C. B. Brown. M.A.	Scholar of New College, Oxford. Fereday Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Manchester University. Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Admitted 1905—6.
F. Orr.	Admitted 1905—6.
R. Traquair. F.R.I.B.A.	Admitted 1905—6 (on appointment to an Architectural Studentship). Professor of Architecture, McGill University, Montreal. Re-admitted 1906—7, as Student of the Byzantine Fund.
Miss E. B. Abrahams. M.A. (Mrs. Culley).	Bedford College, London. Joint Editor of the *Annual*. Admitted 1905—6.
W. J. Farrell. M.A., M.C.	Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Education Officer under Palestine Administration. Admitted 1906—7, 1907—8, 1908—9, 1909—10.
Walter S. George.	Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal College of Art. Soane Medallist of Royal Institute of British Architects. Late Assistant to Architects of Imperial Delhi. Admitted 1906—7. Re-admitted 1908—9, 1909—10, as student of the Byzantine Research Fund. Re-admitted 1912—13.
T. E. Peet. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Officer of Egypt Exploration Society and Professor of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool. Admitted as Craven Fellow, 1906—7, and as Pelham Student in the British School at Rome 1908—9.
A. M. Woodward. M.A.	Late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Director of the School. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Leeds. Assistant Director, 1909–10, 1922–23. Admitted 1906—7, 1907—8, 1908—9.
W. M. Calder. B.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Professor of Greek in Victoria University, Manchester. Formerly Wilson Travelling Fellow, Aberdeen University. Research Student, Brasenose College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—8.
W. Harvey.	Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1907—8.
H. Pirie-Gordon. M.A., D.S.C.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—8.
M. S. Thompson. M.A., O.B.E.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Holder of Chas. Oldham Scholarship. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1907—8, 1908—9, 1909—10, 1910—11, 1911—12. Hon. Secretary of the School.
A. C. Sheepshanks. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Eton. Admitted 1907—8.
N. Whatley. M.A.	Late Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Headmaster of Clifton College. Admitted 1907—8.

†G. L. Cheesman. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of New College, Oxford. Admitted 1908—9.
A. W. Gomme. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Greek History and Archaeology, University of Glasgow. Previously Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Liverpool University. Prendergast Student. Admitted 1908—9, 1919—20, 1922—23.
L. B. Budden. M.A., A.R.I.B.A.	Travelling Student in Architecture of the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909—10.
S. W. Grose. M.A.	Christ's College, Cambridge. Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge. From 1914, cataloguing McClean Collection of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum. School Student. Admitted 1909—10.
H. A. Ormerod. M.A., M.C.	Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Classics in the University of Leeds. Admitted 1909—10, 1910—11.
H. H. Jewell.	Royal Academy Gold Medallist. Admitted 1909—10.
W. R. Halliday. B.A., B.Litt.	New College, Oxford. Principal of King's College, University of London. Late Rathbone Professor of Ancient History in the University of Liverpool. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1910—11. Re-admitted 1912—13.
Miss D. Lamb. M.B.E. (Mrs. J. R. Brooke.)	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910—11. Re-admitted 1913—14.
Miss L. E. Tennant (Mrs. F. J. Watson Taylor).	Admitted 1910—11.
E. S. G. Robinson. M.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Assistant in the Coin and Medal Department, British Museum. School Student. Admitted 1910—11.
L. B. Tillard. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910—11.
A. J. Toynbee. B.A.	Sometime Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Late Koraes Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language, Literature and History at King's College, University of London. Admitted 1911—12. Re-admitted 1920—21.
R. S. Darbishire. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1911—12.
Miss M. M. Hardie. M.A. (Mrs. F. W. Hasluck).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted as School Student, 1911—12.
E. M. W. Tillyard. M.A., O.B.E.	Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1911—12.
M. L. W. Laistner. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Professor of Greek in the University of Philadelphia, Pa. Late Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Craven Student. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14 as School Student.
S. Casson. M.A.	Lincoln College, Oxford, and Senior Scholar of St. John's College. Fellow of New College. University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. Assistant Director of the School, 1919—1922. School Student. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14.
R. S. Lambert.	Repton School. In charge of the Adult Education Section of The British Broadcasting Corporation.

† Killed in action, August 10th, 1915.

Gordon Leith.	Holder of Herbert Baker Studentship. Admitted 1912—13.
C. A. Scutt. M.A.	Clare College, Cambridge. Professor of Greek in the University of Melbourne, Victoria. Prendergast Student of the University of Cambridge. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14.
†R. M. Heath. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1913—14.
J. Boxwell. B.A.	Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin. Travelling Scholar of Union of South Africa. Admitted 1913—14.
Miss M. N. L. Taylor (Mrs. H. C. Bradshaw).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1913—14.
J. Arnott Hamilton. M.A.	University of Edinburgh. Holder of the Blackie Travelling Scholarship. Admitted 1913—14.
Miss E. Radford.	Admitted 1913—14.
Miss Agnes Conway. M.B.E.	Admitted 1913—14.
Rev. W. A. Wigram. D.D.	Admitted 1913—14. Chaplain to British Legation, Athens, 1923—26.
†C. B. Moss-Blundell. B.A.	New College, Oxford. School Student elect 1914—15.
H. Collingham. B.A.	Queen's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at St. Olave's, Southwark. Craven Student. Admitted 1919—20.
M. Tierney. B.A.	University of Ireland. Professor of Antient History, University College, Dublin. Admitted 1919—20.
A. W. Lawrence. B.A.	New College, Oxford. Admitted with grant from the Craven Fund, 1919—20. Re-admitted 1921—22. Re-admitted as Craven Fellow, 1924—25.
*J. B. Hutton. M.A.	Lecturer in Greek History and Archaeology at University of Glasgow. Admitted with grant from the Carnegie Trustees, 1920—21.
F. L. Lucas. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Fellow and Lecturer of King's College. School Student. Admitted 1920—21.
B. Ashmole. M.A., M.C.	Hertford College, Oxford. Director of the British School at Rome. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1920—21, 1921—22.
H. T. Wade Gery. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Fellow and Tutor of Wadham College. Admitted 1920—21, 1921—22, 1922—23.
J. J. E. Hondius. Litt.Class.Doc.	University of Utrecht, Holland. Admitted as Foreign Student 1920—21.
C. A. Boethius. Dr.Phil.	University of Upsala, Sweden. Director of Swedish Arch. Inst., Rome. Admitted as Foreign Student 1920—21, 1921—22.
Miss L. Chandler. B.A.	University of Sheffield. Classical Mistress at the Hornsey High School. First Holder of Gustav Sachs Memorial Studentship. Admitted 1920—21.
Miss M. A. B. Herford. M.A. (Mrs. G. E. K. Braunholtz).	University of Manchester and Somerville College, Oxford. Formerly Lecturer in Classical Archaeology and Assistant Lecturer in Classics, University of Manchester. Admitted 1920—21.

† Killed in action, September 16th, 1916.
† Killed in action, September 26th, 1915.
* Deceased.

Miss W. Lamb.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Hon. Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department, Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted 1920—21, 1921—22, 1922—23, 1923—24, 1924—25.
M. A. Hondius-Van Haeften (Mrs. J. J. E. Hondius).	University of Utrecht, Holland. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1920—21.
W. A. Heurtley. B.A., O.B.E.	Caius College, Cambridge. Diploma of Archaeology, Oxford. Assistant Director and Librarian of the School. School Student. Admitted 1921—22, 1922—23.
R. W. Hutchinson. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Craven Student. Admitted 1921—22.
J. E. Scott. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Fellow and Lecturer of Caius College, Cambridge. Admitted 1921—22.
E. Smith. Ph.D.	University of Christiania, Norway. Lecturer in Classics. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1921—22.
*A. Smith (Mrs. E. Smith).	University of Christiania, Norway. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1921—22.
E. Kjellberg. Ph.D.	University of Lund, Sweden. Assistant in the National Museum, Stockholm. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1921—22.
J. Waldis. Dr.Phil.	University of Zurich, Switzerland. Professor at the Gymnasium, Lucerne. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1921—22.
G. Snijder. Ph.D.	University of Utrecht, Holland. Admitted as Foreign Student with Travelling Fellowship from his University, 1921—22.
J. Bell. M.A.	Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1922—23.
*S. S. Clarke. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Fellow of Exeter College. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1922—23, 1923—24.
B. L. Hallward. B.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Fellow of Peterhouse. Admitted 1922—23 as School Student.
D. C. Macgregor. M.A.	Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1922—23.
Miss J. Pybus (Mrs. A. M. Woodward).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Late Senior Classical Mistress, Newcastle Central High School. Admitted 1922—23.
A. G. Russell. B.A.	University of Liverpool. Classical Master at the Liverpool Institute. Admitted as Sachs Student, 1922—23.
C. T. Seltman. B.A.	Queens' College, Cambridge. Diploma of Archaeology, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Classics, Cambridge. Secretary of Cambridge Philological Society. Late George Charles Winter Warr Scholar. Prendergast Student. Admitted 1922—23.
O. J. Todd. Ph.D. (Harv.).	Associate Professor of Classics in the University of British Columbia. Admitted 1922—23.
Miss J. Webb. B.A.	University of Melbourne. Admitted 1922—23.
W. H. Alexander. M.A. (Tor.), Ph.D. (Calif.).	Professor of Classics in the University of Alberta, Canada. Admitted 1923—24. Re-admitted 1925—26.

* Deceased.

Miss C. Brönsted.	University of Copenhagen. Admitted as Foreign Student 1923—24.
W. B. C. Buchanan. B.A.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1923—24.
C. W. M. Cox. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Fellow of New College, Oxford. Admitted as Craven Fellow, 1923—24.
W. L. Cuttle. B.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Lecturer in Classics in the University of Bristol. Admitted as Craven Student, 1923—1924. Re-admitted 1924—25 as School Student. Re-admitted 1925—26.
C. Hignett. M.A.	Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Admitted 1923—24.
Miss M. B. Hobling. B.A.	Somerville College, Oxford. Classical Mistress at the Perse Girls' School, Cambridge. Admitted as School Student, 1923—24. Re-admitted 1924—25 as holder of the Mary Ewart Scholarship.
Miss U. D. Hunt. M.A.	Bedford College, London. Classical Mistress, Tiffin Girls' School, Kingston-on-Thames. Formerly Lecturer at Bedford College for Women. Admitted 1923—24.
H. H. Keen. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1923—24.
M. B. C. Tait. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1923—24.
Miss E. Tankard. B.A.	University of Liverpool. Assistant-Secretary to Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool. Admitted with grants from Holt Educational Trust and the School, 1923—24. Re-admitted 1924—25, 1925—26.
Miss A. Wentzel.	University of Copenhagen. Admitted as Foreign Student. 1923—24.
R. P. Austin. B.A.	University College, Reading. Assistant Lecturer in Classics, University of Birmingham. Admitted 1924—25 with grants from University College, Reading and the Cornwall County Education Committee. Re-admitted as holder of a Postgraduate Travelling Studentship from University of London, 1925—26.
H. G. G. Payne. B.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Assistant Curator of Coins, Ashmolean Museum. Admitted as holder of Travelling Scholarship in Mediterranean Archaeology, 1924—25, 1925—26. Re-admitted 1926—27.
A. M. Farrer.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted as holder of the Clarke Memorial Exhibition, Easter, 1925.
J. H. Iliffe. B.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Lecturer at Toronto University. Late Assistant Lecturer in Classics in the University College of N. Wales, Bangor. Admitted as Craven Student, 1924—25.
W. A. Sisson.	Admitted as Jarvis Student in Architecture at the British School at Rome, 1924—25. Re-admitted 1925—26.
B. I. Lawrence. B.A. (Mrs. A. W. Lawrence.)	Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted 1924—25.
Miss V. Whitfield. B.A.	Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as holder of a Gilchrist Scholarship, 1924—25. Assistant Lecturer in Classics, University College, Reading.

H. Frankfort. Hist. Doct. (Leiden), M.A. (London).	Universities of Amsterdam and London. Director of Excavations, Egypt Exploration Society. Admitted 1924—25.
H. A. Frankfort. Lit. n. Cand. (Mrs. H. Frankfort.)	University of Amsterdam. Assistant to Expedition of Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1924—25.
P. Dikaios.	Admitted on Nomination of the Government of Cyprus, 1924—25.
H. Box. B.A.	St. John's College, Oxford. Additional Lecturer in Greek, the University of St. Andrews, N.B. Admitted as School Student, 1925—26.
G. A. D. Tait. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Associate Professor of Archaeology, Oberlin College, Ohio, U.S.A. Admitted with a Scholarship from his College, 1925—26.
O. Davies.	Exeter College, Oxford. Admitted as holder of the Clarke Memorial Exhibition, Easter, 1926.
Miss E. Scott.	Oxford Home Student. Admitted 1925—26.
Miss J. Toynbee. B.A.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted as Student of the British School at Rome, 1926.
R. A. Cordingley.	Admitted as Student in Architecture of the British School at Rome, 1925—26.
Miss K. M. T. Chrimes. B.A.	St. Hugh's Hall, Oxford. Admitted as Gilchrist Student of the British School at Rome, 1925—26.
Miss N. M. Holley.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted as Student of the British School at Rome, 1925—26.
C. G. Hardie.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted as holder of the Clarke Memorial Exhibition, Easter, 1927.
J. T. Hawdon. B.A.	University of Birmingham. Admitted as Sachs Student, 1926—27.
Miss A. Masom. B.A.	University of London. Admitted 1926—27.

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

*Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	,,	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	,,	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	,,	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	,,	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	,,	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	,,	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	,,	1903.
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	,,	1903.
H. W. Allen, Esq.	,,	1906.
W. Miller, Esq.	,,	1906.
George Kennedy, Esq.	,,	1906.
A. E. Zimmern, Esq.	,,	1910.
Miss Negreponte.	,,	1912.
C. J. Ellingham, Esq.	,,	1913.
Capt. H. M. Greaves, R.A.	,,	1913.
Shirley Atchley, Δ.Γρ.	,,	1920.
Miss C. A. Hutton	,,	1926.
Rev. W. A. Wigram	,,	1926.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School :—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.
(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. Subscribers of £2 annually or more, and Donors of £20 and upwards to the general funds of the School, shall receive a copy of the *Annual* free of charge.

Subscribers of £1 annually and Donors of £10 to the general funds shall be allowed to purchase the *Annual* at a reduced rate of £1. All Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of the Annual Report and to use the Library and attend the public meetings of the School in Athens.

VII. A Corporate Body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VIII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing Corporate Body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIII. (3).

IX. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following :—

(1) The Trustees of the School.
(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.
(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.
(4) The members nominated by Corporate Bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES.

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following :—

(1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.
(2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.
(3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students, and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to assist in editing the School *Annual*.

XXIX. (*a*) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (*b*) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of seventeen shillings and sixpence a week for the smaller, and twenty-five shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel.[1] These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, Members of the Committee, and ex-Directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be from thirty-five to fifty-six shillings a week, or from five to eight drachmae a night.[1]

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

---

[1] These rates are subject to alteration owing to the fluctuations in the exchange.

To meet the present high cost of maintenance an entrance fee of £2 2*s*. per Session is now payable by Students. Non-Students pay £2 2*s*. for any period up to three months, or £5 5*s*. per Session.

PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

Revised, 1927.

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

CONTRIBUTORS to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* are requested to use the following systems of transliteration when writing in English such Greek words as have not become part of the English language :—

ANCIENT GREEK.

Vowels.

$\alpha = a$: $\left\{\begin{matrix}\epsilon \\ \eta\end{matrix}\right. = e$:	krater, lekane.
$\iota = i$:	kalpis.
$\left\{\begin{matrix}o \\ \omega\end{matrix}\right. = o$:	kothon, kantharos, Amyklaion.
$\upsilon = y$	after a consonant, as aryballos, kylix; *u* after another vowel, as boule.
$\alpha\iota = ai$:	Aigion, Erythrai, except at the end of words, such as Mycenae, which are commonly Latinised in form, when *ae* may be used.
$\epsilon\iota = ei$:	Meidias.
$o\iota = oi$:	Chalkioikos.
$\upsilon\iota = ui$:	muia.
$\alpha\upsilon = au$:	Aulis.
$\epsilon\upsilon = eu$:	Eutychos.
$o\upsilon = ou$:	boule.

Consonants.

$\beta = b$; $\gamma = g$; $\delta = d$; $\zeta = z$; $\theta = th$; $\kappa = k$;[1] $\lambda = l$; $\mu = m$; $\nu = n$; $\xi = x$; $\pi = p$; $\rho = r$; σ, $\varsigma = s$; $\tau = t$; $\phi = ph$; $\chi = ch$; $\psi = ps$; $\gamma\gamma = ng$; $\gamma\kappa = nk$; $\gamma\chi = nch$; $\dot{\rho} = rh$.

[1] κ never $= c$ except for place-names like Corinth, Mycenae, or some names of persons, like Cleon, which have become English words.

Accents.

Contributors are requested to indicate accents and breathings very clearly and accurately.

MODERN GREEK.[1]

Vowels.

α=*a* :
ε=*e* :
η=*e* :
ι=*i* :
} Πέντε Πηγάδια=Pénte Pegádia.

{*ο*, *ω*}=*o* : } Γεώργιος=Geórgios.

υ=*y* : Μύλοι=Myloi. But for *αυ*, *ευ*, *ου* see below.
αι=*ai* : Καισαριανή=Kaisariané.
ει=*ei* : Ἁγία Εἰρήνη=Hagía Eiréne.
οι=*oi* : Μολάοι=Molaoi.
υι=*yi* : ψυχουϊός=psychoyiós.
ου=*ou* : Σκριποῦ=Skripoú.

{*αυ*, *ευ*}=*af* and *ef* before unvoiced consonants (*θ*, *κ* (*ξ*, *ψ*), *π*, *ς*, *τ*, *φ*, *χ*) and *av*, *ev* before vowels and voiced consonants; Εὐθύμιος=Efthýmios; Λαύρα=Lávra.

Consonants.

β=*v*; *γ*=*g*, but *γγ*, *γκ* and *γχ* as *ng*, *nk* and *nch*; *δ*=*d*; *ζ*=*z*; *θ*=*th*; *κ*=*k*; *λ*=*l*; *μ*=*m*; *ν*=*n*; *ξ*=*x*; *π*=*p*; *ρ*=*r*; *ρρ*=*rrh*; *ῥ*=*rh*; *σ*, *ς*=*s*; *τ*=*t*; *φ*, *χ*, *ψ*=*ph*, *ch*, *ps*.[2]

The rough breathing to be written h : Ἅγιος Γεώργιος=H. Geórgios.

Accents.

Accents, in all cases to be written as acute, to be indicated.

In any case where the Greek form of the word is felt to be obscured it may be added in Greek letters (in brackets) the first time a word occurs, and conversely the exact pronunciation, if it should be of importance for any reason, may be specially indicated.

[1] See Mr. R. M. Dawkins' paper on 'The Transliteration of Modern Greek' in *B.S.A.*, vol. xv.

[2] Such combinations as *μπ* are best represented by the corresponding sound.—[Ed.]

ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

For the conventions respecting the indication of quotations from ancient and modern authorities, titles of periodical and collective publications, transliteration of inscriptions, and quotations from MSS. and literary texts, contributors are referred to the accompanying notes drawn up by the Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and kindly placed by them at the disposal of contributors to the *Annual.*

[REPRINTED FROM *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VOL. XXIX., PART II., 1909, PP. LXXXVII—IX.]

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; *e.g.* Dittenb. *Syll.*^{3} 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

A.-E.M.=Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen.
Ann. d. I.=Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz.=Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit.=Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitt.=Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
Baumeister=Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H.=Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas.=Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.

B.M. Bronzes=British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M. Coins=British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Rings=British Museum Catalogue of Finger-Rings.
B.M. Inscr.=Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Jewellery=British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery.
B.M. Sculpt.=British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
B.M. Terracottas=British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
B.M. Vases=British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A.=Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R.=Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I.=Bullettino dell' Instituto.
Busolt=Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G.=Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L.=Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev.=Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr.=Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
C.R. St. Pét.=Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.
Dar.-Sagl.=Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. *O.G.I.*=Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Dittenb. *Syll.*=Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.=*Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς.*
G.D.I.=Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften (or Collitz-Bechtel).
Gerh. *A.V.*=Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A.=Göttingensche Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Head, *H.N.*[2]=Head, Historia Numorum. Revised Edition, 1910.
I.G.=Inscriptiones Graecae.[1]
I.G.A.=Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb.=Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh.=Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.
J.H.S.=Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Klio=Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Le Bas-Wadd.=Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Liverpool Annals=Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of University of Liverpool.
Michel=Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I.=Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Müller-Wies.=Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles.=Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.

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[1] The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows :—

I.G.	I. =	Inscr.	Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.
,,	II. =	,,	,, aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora.
,,	III. =	,,	,, aetatis Romanae.
,,	IV. =	,,	Argolidis.
,,	VII. =	,,	Megaridis et Boeotiae.
,,	IX. =	,,	Graeciae Septentrionalis.
,,	XII. =	,,	Insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.
,,	XIV. =	,,	Italiae et Siciliae.

Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.=Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil.=Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.
Niese=Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.
Num. Chr.=Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Zeit.=Numismatische Zeitschrift.
Pauly-Wissowa=Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Philol.=Philologus.
Ramsay, *C.B.*=Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.
Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*=Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.
Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.*=S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.
Reinach, *Rép. Vases*=S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.
Rev. Arch.=Revue Archéologique.
Rev. Ét. Gr.=Revue des Études Grecques.
Rev. Num.=Revue Numismatique.
Rev. Philol.=Revue de Philologie.
Rh. Mus.=Rheinisches Museum.
Röm. Mitt.=Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.
Roscher=Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.
S.M.C.=Sparta Museum Catalogue.
T.A.M.=Tituli Asiae Minoris.
Z.f.N.=Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears on the original, should be represented by a special sign ⊢.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions.*

( ) Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[[ ]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing in the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

British School at Athens.

THIS School (founded in 1886) gives to British Students of Greek Archaeology and Art the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with command of the means which the recent great advances of the science have rendered indispensable.

Athens is now an archaeological centre of the first rank. The architecture of Greece can nowhere else be studied to such advantage; and the concentration in the Athenian museums of treasures of antiquity found in Greek soil during the last few decades of years has made a personal knowledge of those museums in the highest degree desirable for Hellenic scholars.

The student requires two auxiliaries when working in Athens. First, the command of an adequate library; and second, the advice of trained archaeologists residing on the spot, who follow the rapid advance of the science due to new discovery and the rearrangement of old materials.

These advantages are now provided for American, Austrian, British, French, German and Italian archaeologists. By means of these Schools many excavations on Greek soil have been carried out; and those conducted in Cyprus, in the Peloponnese, in Melos, in Crete, at Sparta, Mycenae and in Northern Greece by the British School during the past forty-one Sessions are an encouraging proof of the work that may be done in the future if the School be adequately supported. The *Annual of the British School at Athens*, an archaeological periodical of recognisedly high standing, affords an opportunity for the publication of the Students' more important results.

Students are admitted free of charge. They are required to pursue some definite course of Hellenic study or research, residing for the purpose not less than three months in Greek lands,[1] and at the end of the Session to write a report of the work they have done. Applications from intending students should be made to the Secretary, W. R. LE FANU, Esq., 50, Bedford Square, W.C. 1, who will also give full information.

Donations or annual subscriptions to the School are much needed, and will be gladly received. They should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, V. W. YORKE, Esq., M.A., Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C. 4.

[1] In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence at the School at Athens.

December, 1927.

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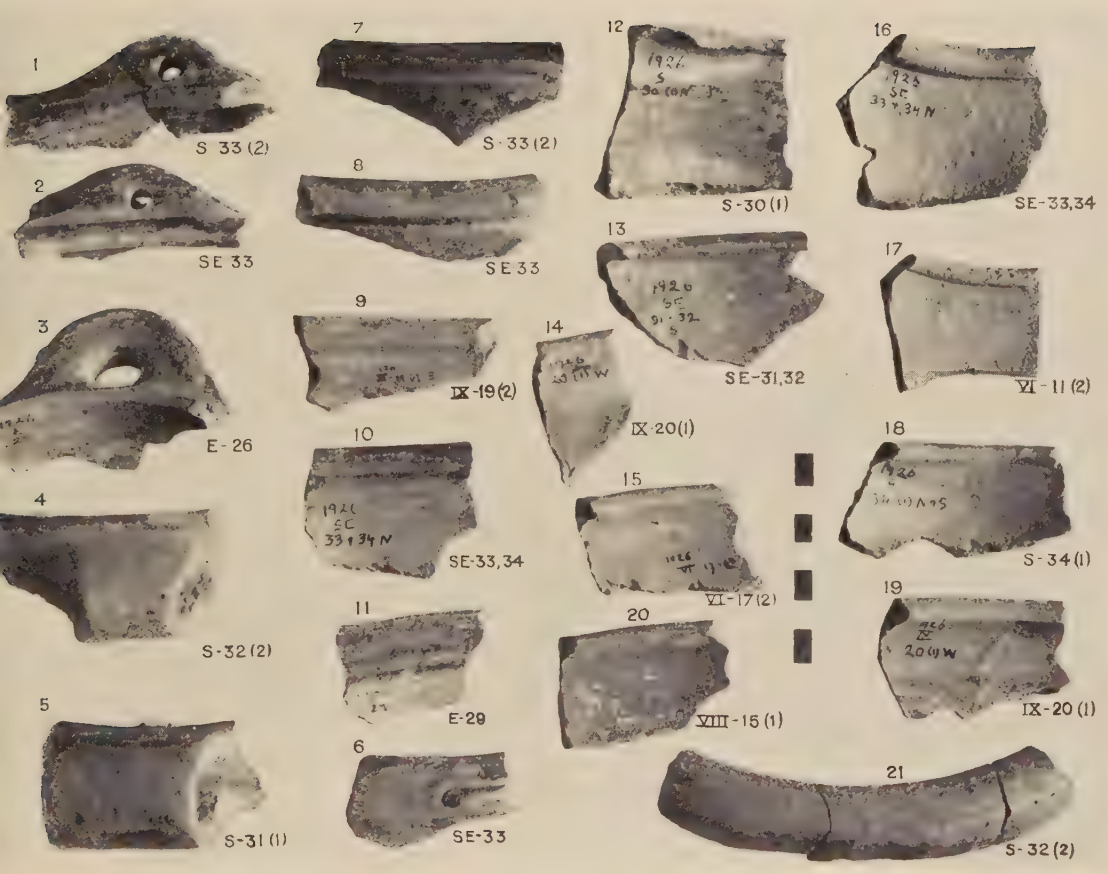
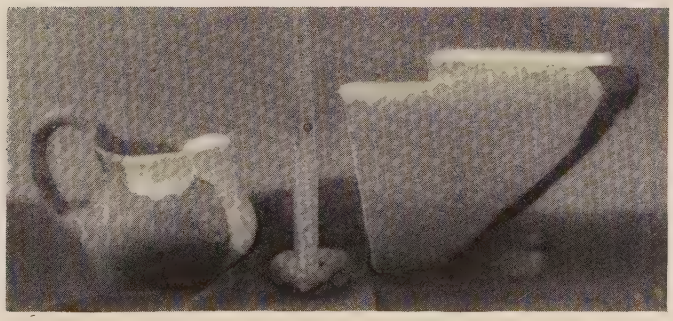


Monochrome Undecorated Bowls (A1α).

Vardaróftsa: Pottery, Period A.

(*a*) Askoi (?) (A1*β*).

E 29 (1)

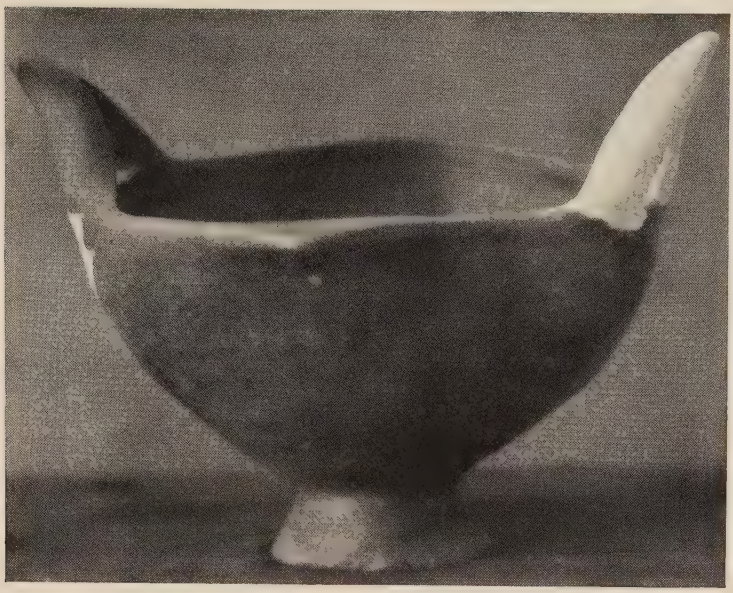


E 30 (1)

(*b*) 2. Jug. 1. Bowl (A1*α*).

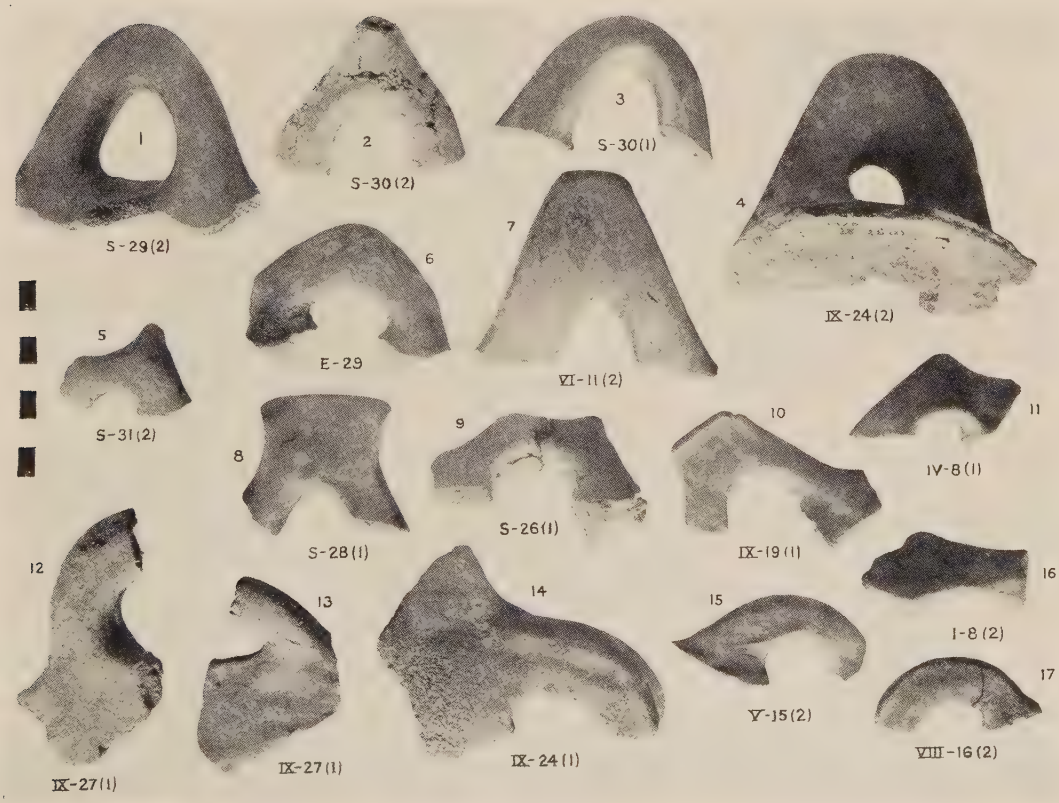
(*a*) & (*b*) Monochrome Undecorated (A1).

Vardaróftsa: Pottery, Period A.



(*a*) Bowl (A1γ) IX. 24 (2).

Scale 1 : 6



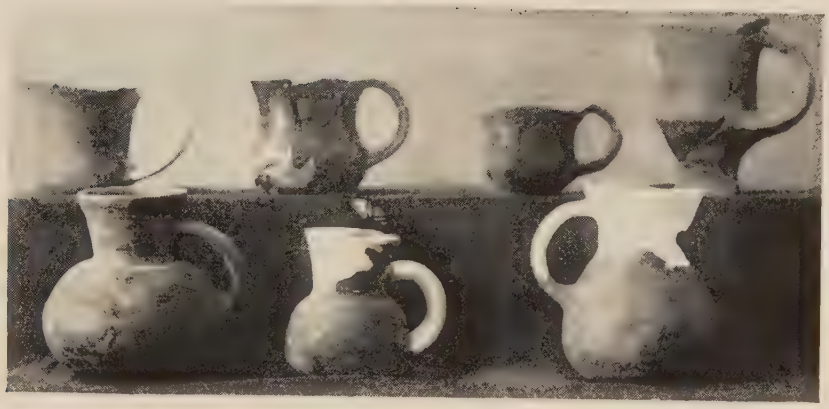
(*b*) Handles.

Vardaróftsa : Pottery, Monochrome Undecorated (A1).

S. 33 (1) S. 33 (2) S. 33 (1) S. 33 (1)

1—4

5 7



S. 32 (2) S. 32 (2) S. 32 (2)

SCALE 1 : 3

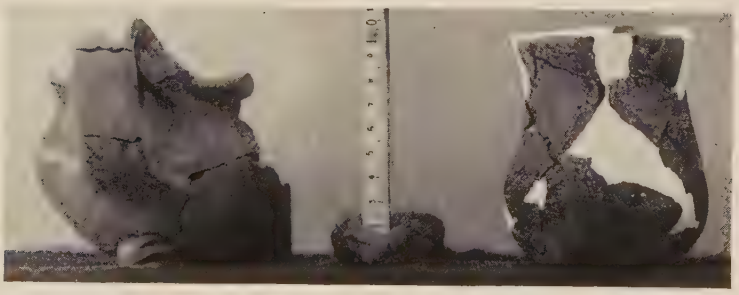
S. 32 (2) S. 33 (1) S. 32 (1) S. 32 (2)

8—11

SCALE 1 : 6

E. 29 S.E. 34 (1)

12



13

S. 30 (2) S. 31 (2) S. 31 (1)

14

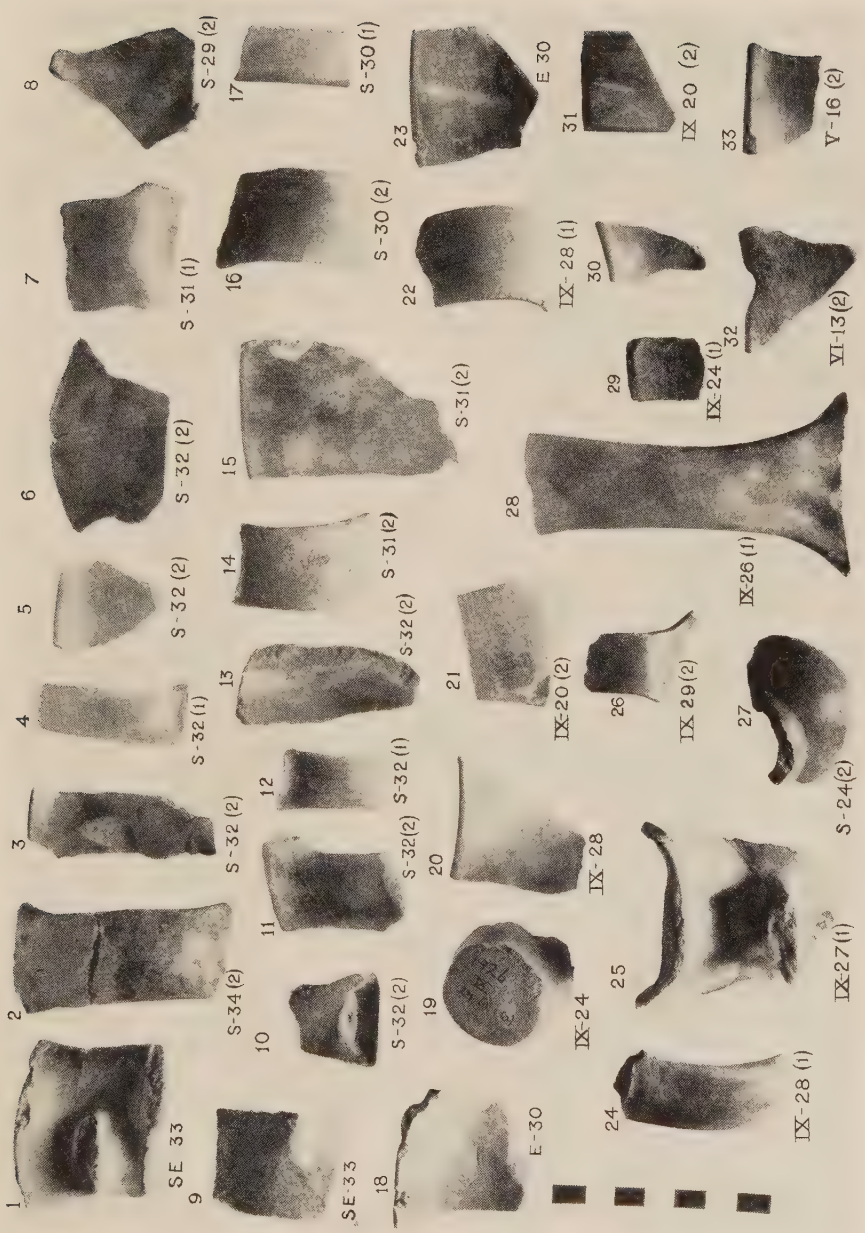
15. 16

17 18

S. 33 (1) S. 32 (2)

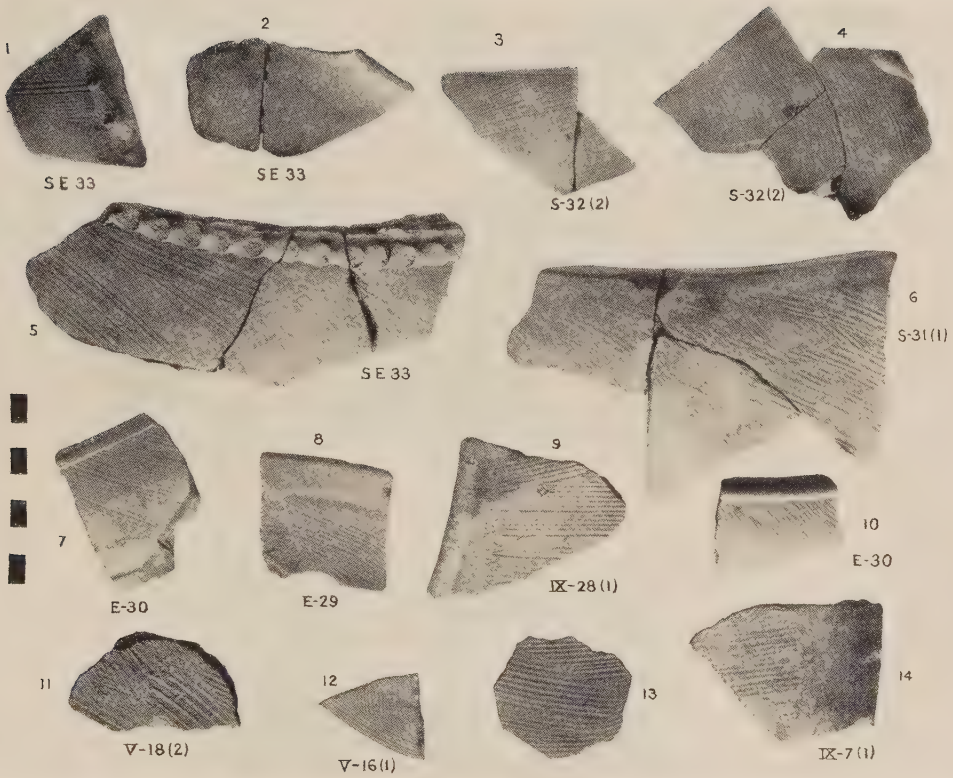
MONOCHROME UNDECORATED (A1)—SHAPES A1α, A1δ, A1ε—BLACK-POLISHED (A2)—MISCELLANEOUS.

VARDARÓFTSA: POTTERY, PERIOD A.



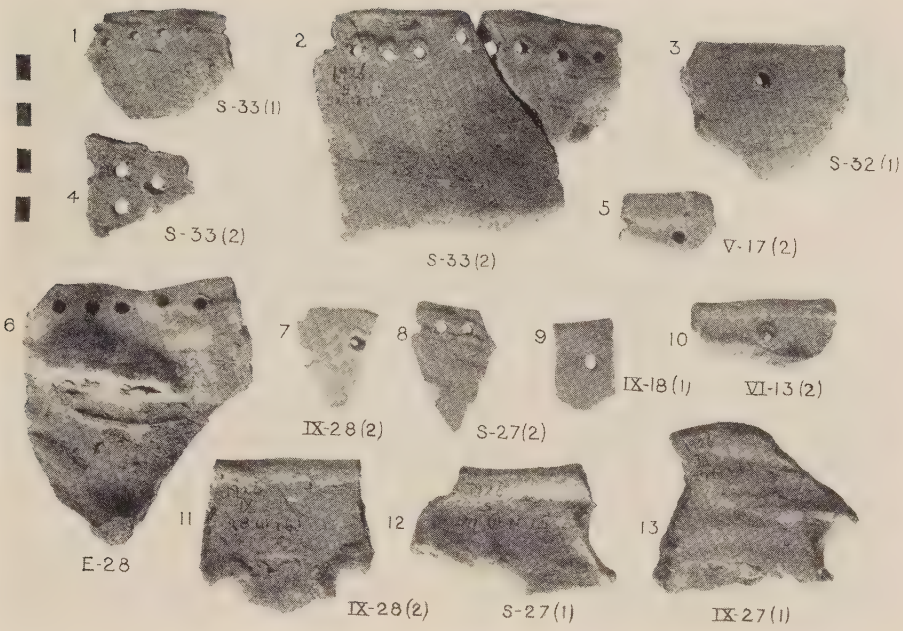
MONOCHROME UNDECORATED (A1), BLACK-POLISHED (A2).

VARDARÓFTSA: POTTERY, PERIOD A.

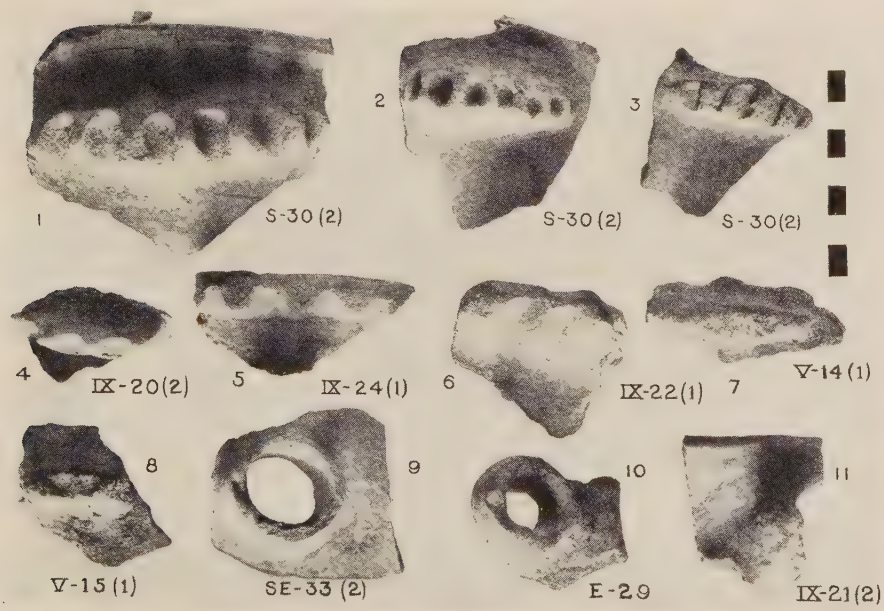


Striated (A3)

Vardaróftsa: Pottery, Period A.



(*a*) Perforated Ware.



(*b*) 1—8, Coarse Ware, Scalloped Lugs.
9—11, Monochrome Undecorated Bowls (A1*a*) with Side-spouts.

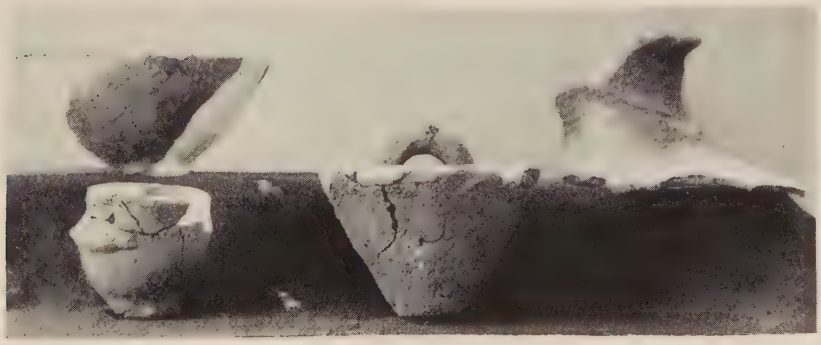
Vardaróftsa: Pottery, Period A.

1 2

IX. 24 (2) IX. 24 (2)

(*a*) 1. Monochrome Undecorated (A1). 2. Tool-marked Ware (B1).

S. 27 (2) S. 28 (1)



1 2

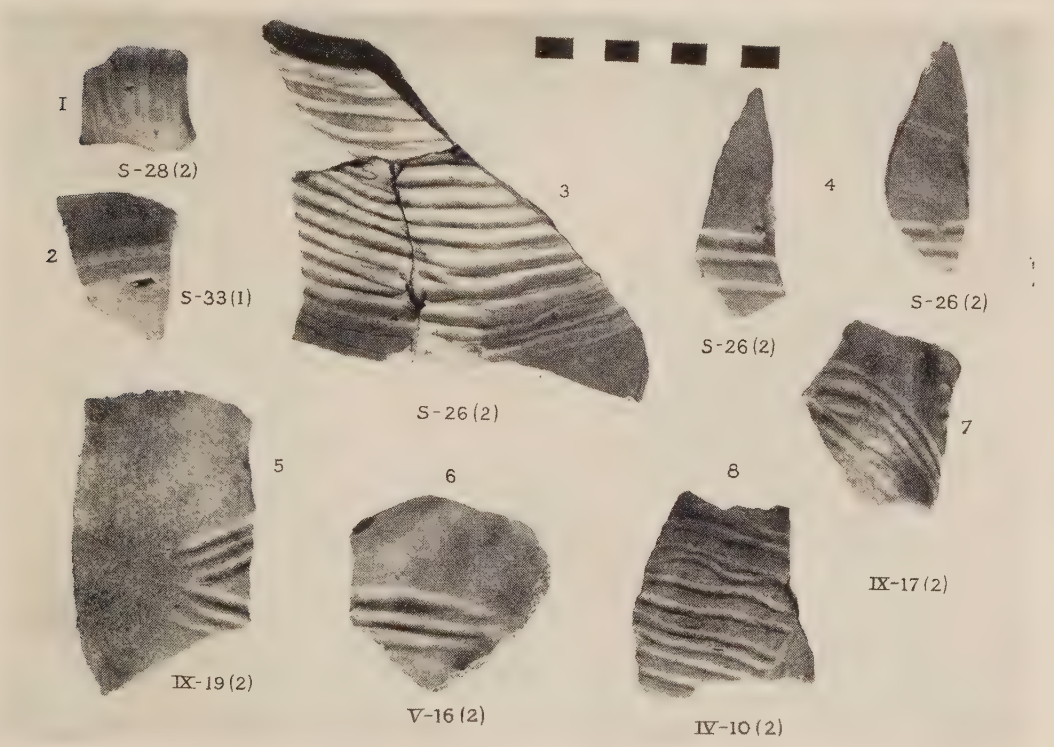
3 4

S. 26 (2) S. 28 (2)

(*b*) 2. Grooved Ware (B2). 1, 3, 4, Coarse Ware.

Vardaróftsa: Pottery, Period B.

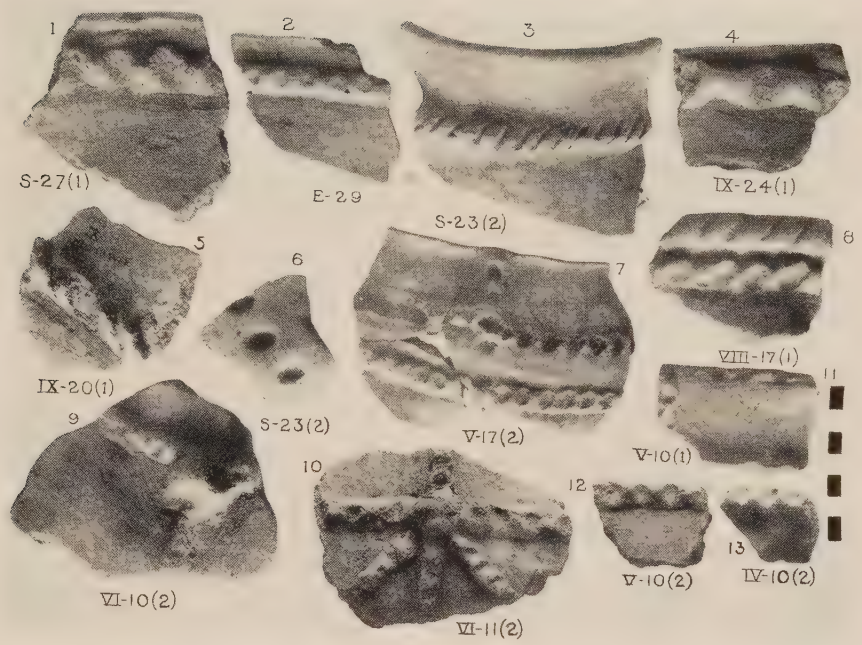
(a)



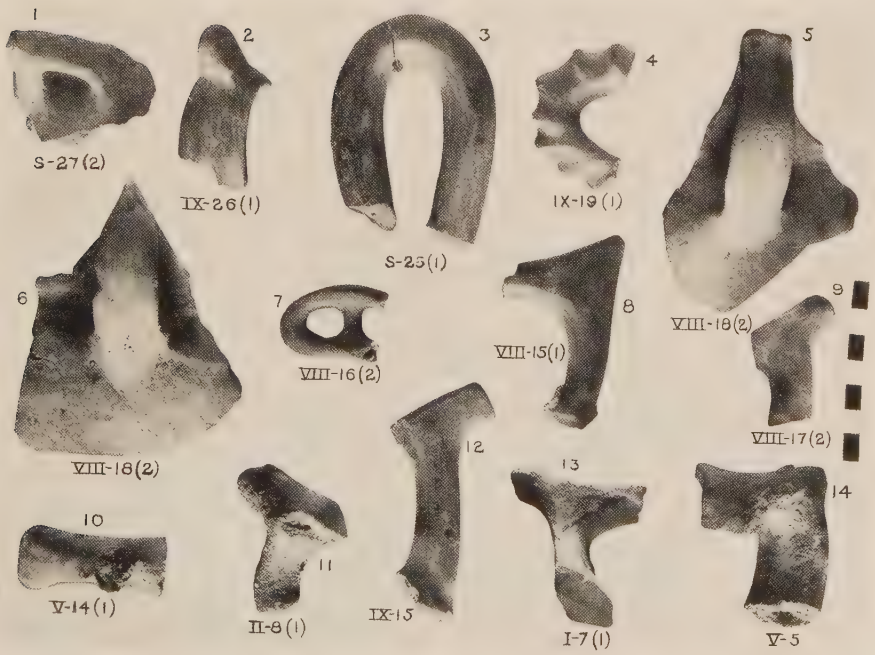
(b)

(*a*) 1—4, First Incised (A4); 5—18, Second Incised (B3).
(*b*) Grooved Ware (B2).

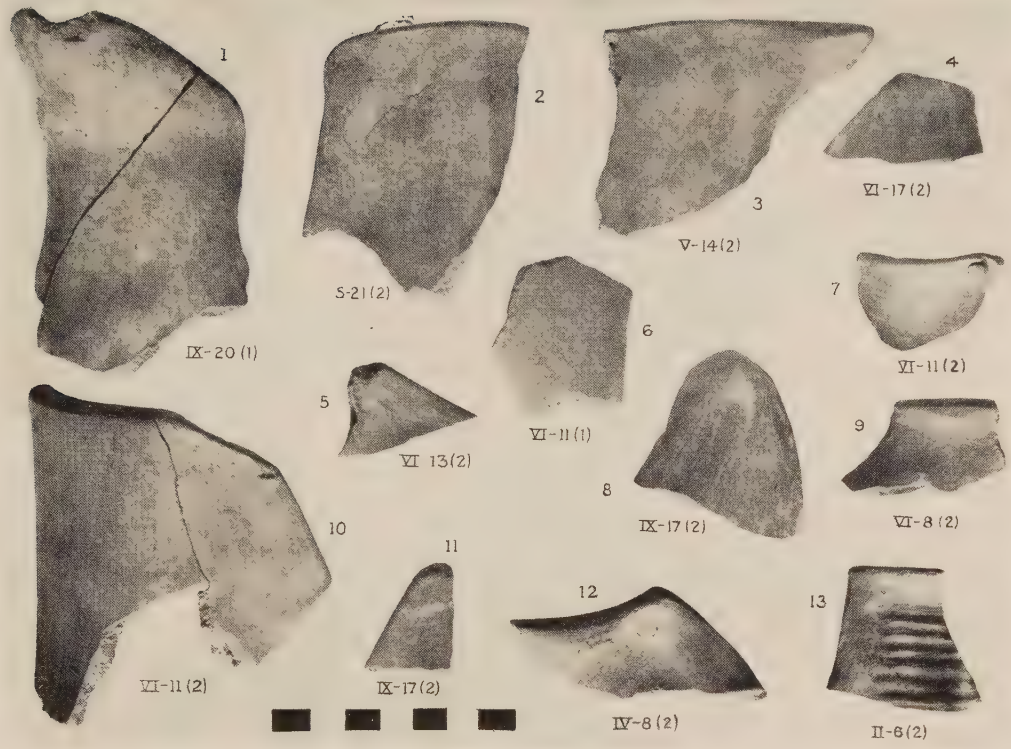
Vardaróftsa: Pottery, Period B.



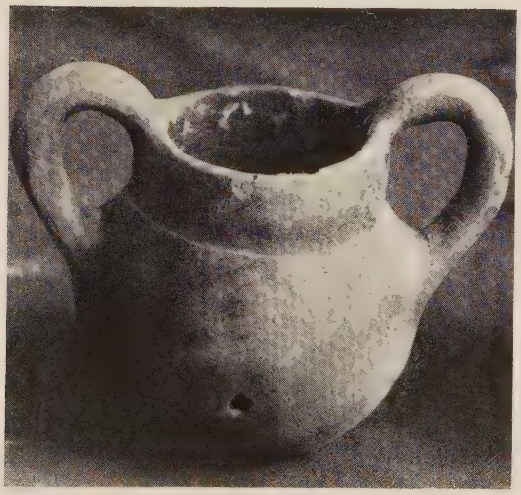
(*a*) Vases with Impressed Decoration.



(*b*) Monochrome Undecorated (A1), Matt-painted (C2). Handles.



(*a*) Jugs with Slanting or Cut-away Necks.



IX. 24 (2)

(*b*) Jar. Scale 1 : 6

Monochrome Undecorated (A1), except (*a*) 2, Matt-painted (C2).

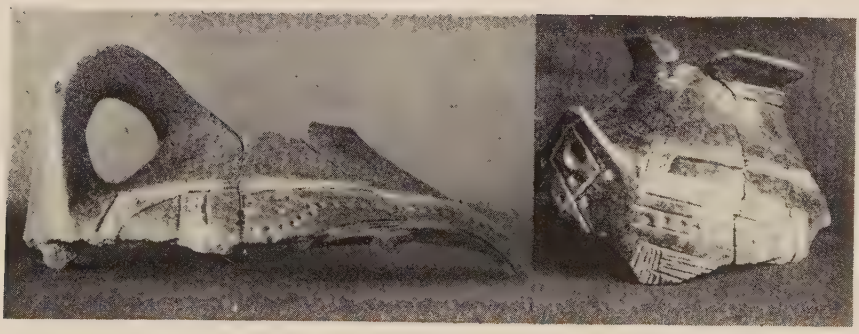
Vardaróftsa : Pottery, Period C.

1 2

IX. 20. IX. 20.

(*a*)

1 2



S. 24. S. 24.

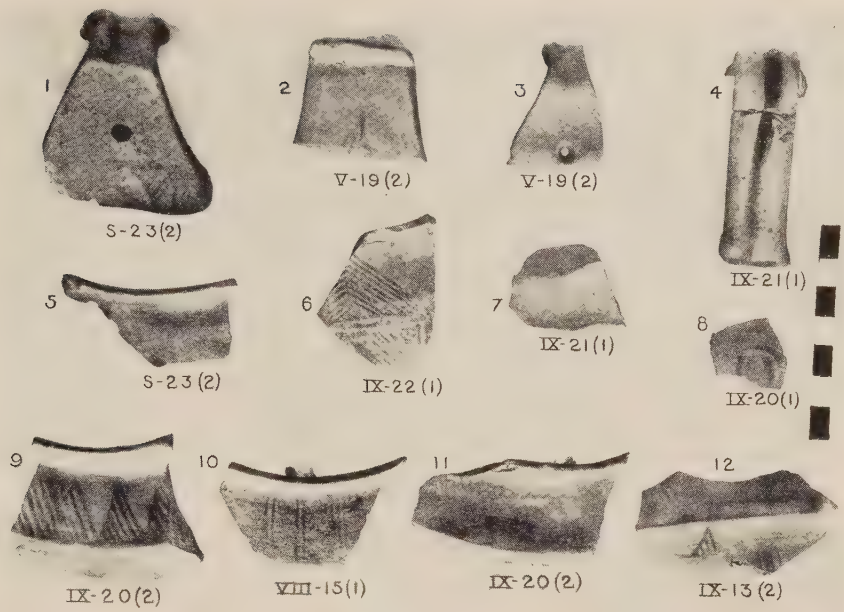
(*b*)

Third Incised (C1): Scale 1 : 3

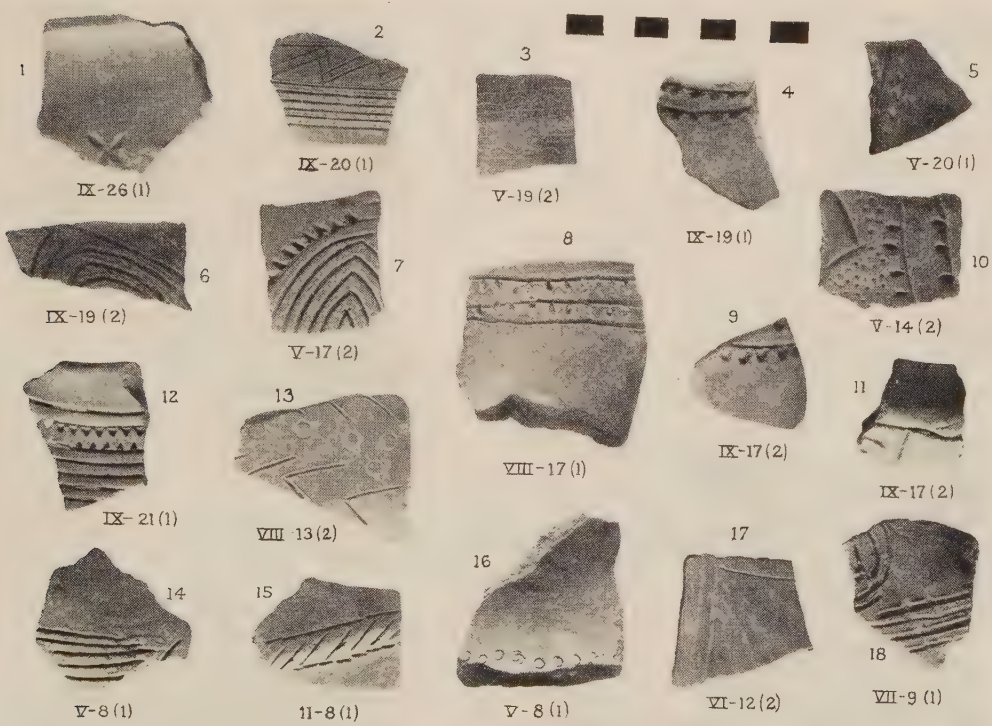
Vardaróftsa: Pottery, Period C.

Third Incised (C1).

Vardaróftsa: Pottery, Period C.

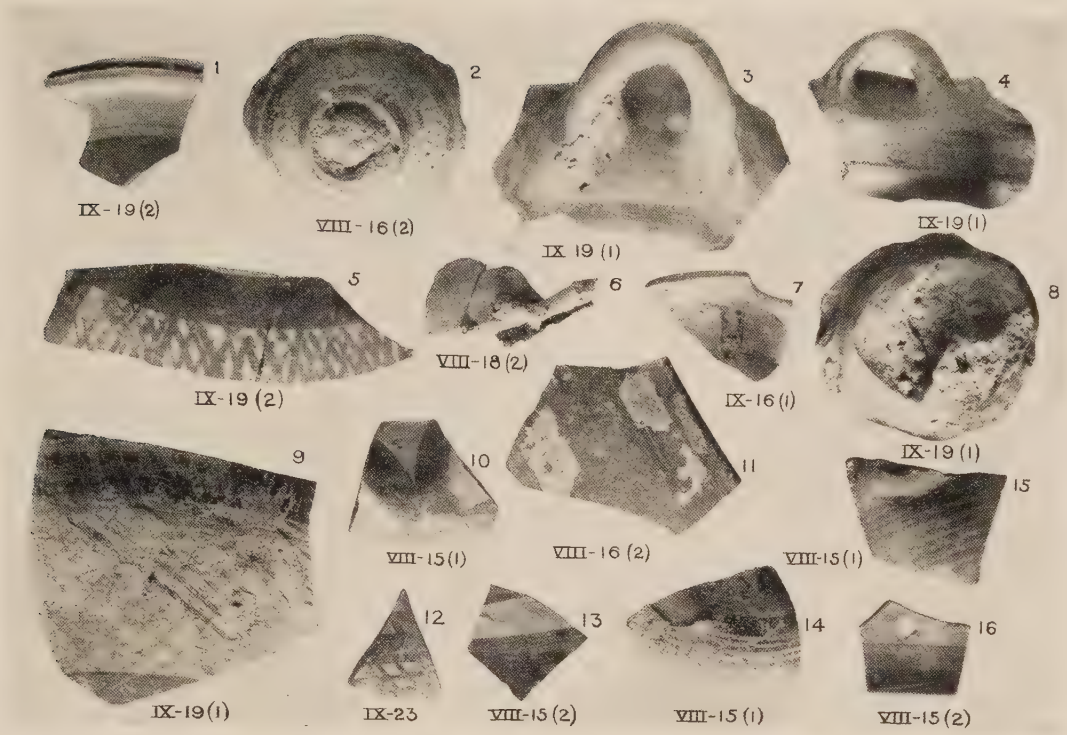


(*a*) Matt-painted Ware (C2). Cf. Fig. 9.

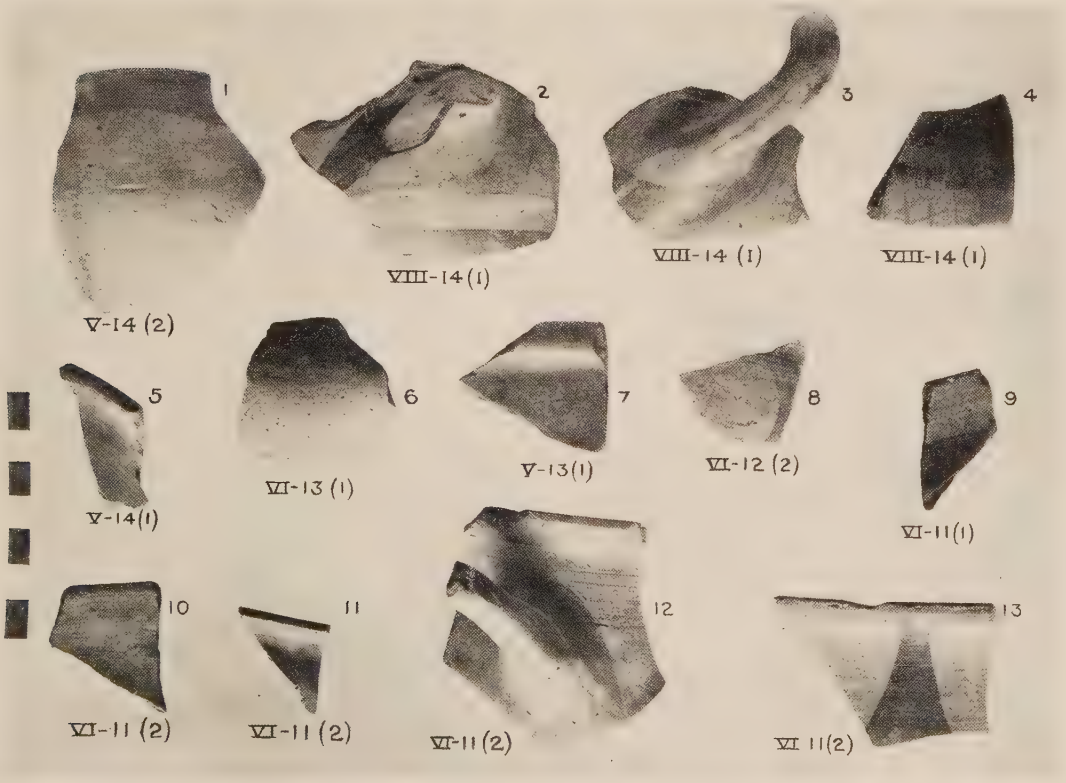


(*b*) Fourth Incised (C3); 1—3, Unclassified.

Vardaróftsa: Pottery, Period C.



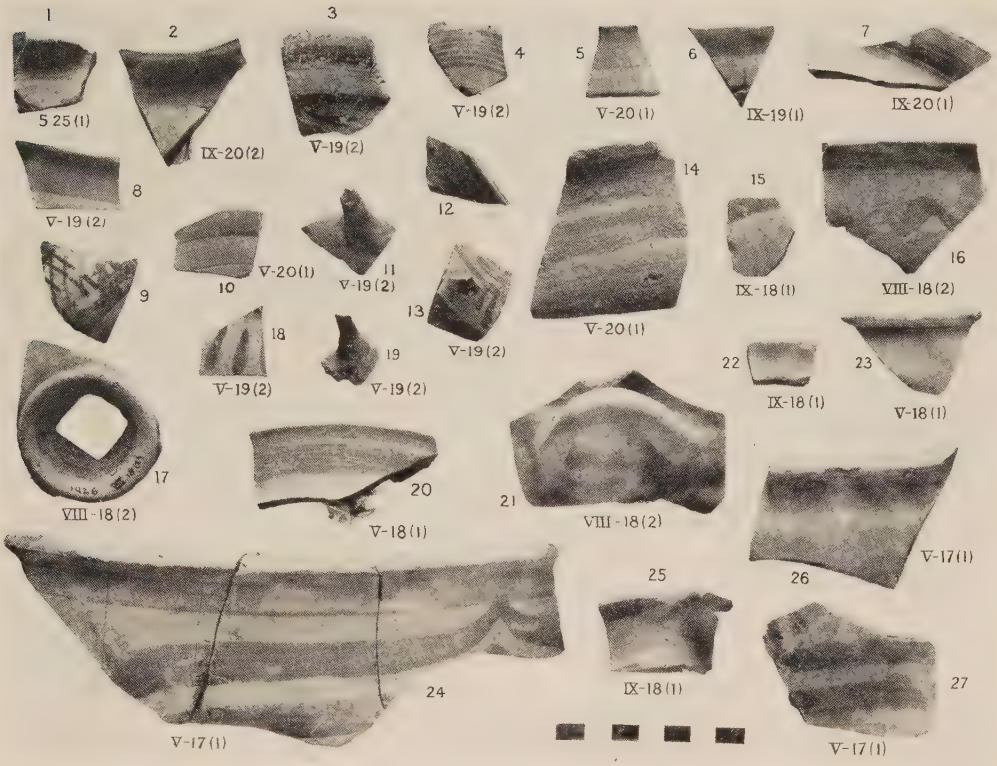
(a)



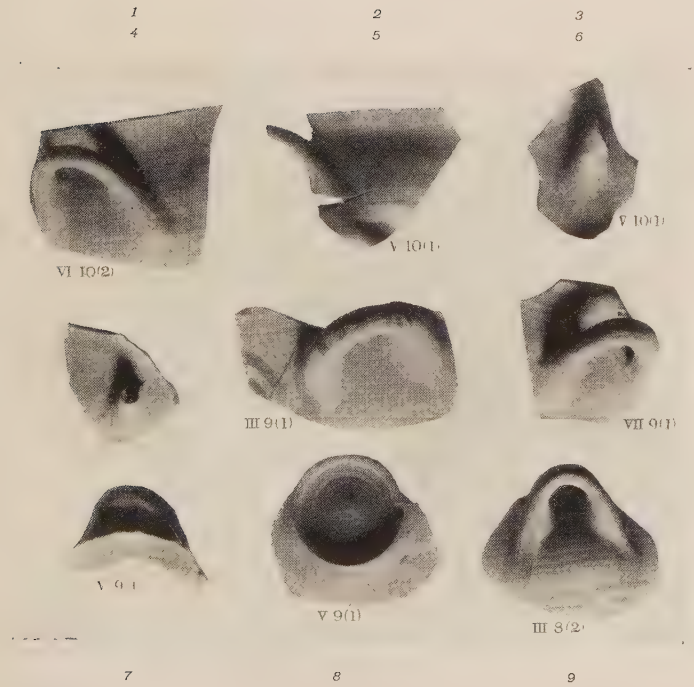
(b)

MYCENAEAN.

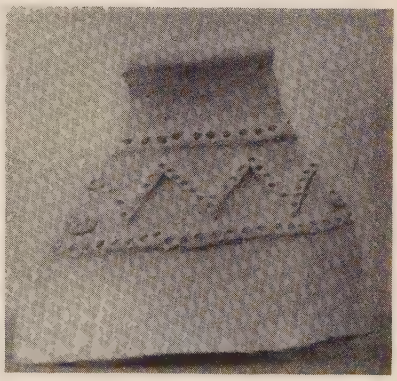
VARDARÓFTSA: POTTERY, PERIOD C.



(*a*)



(*b*) SCALE 1 : 5

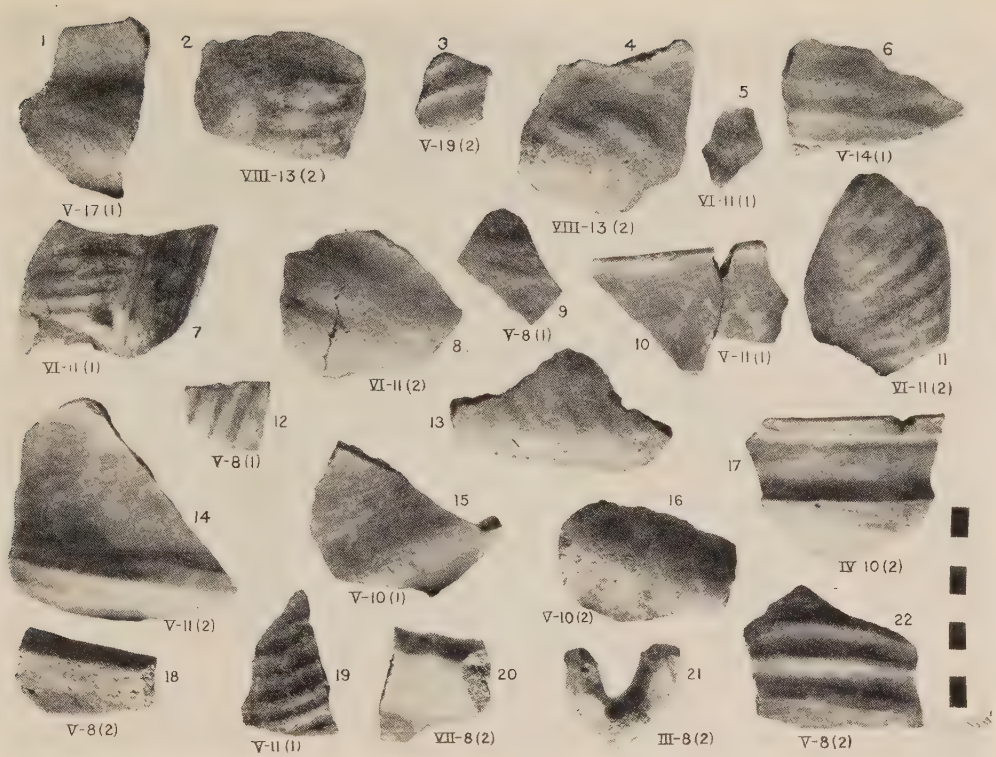


(*c*)

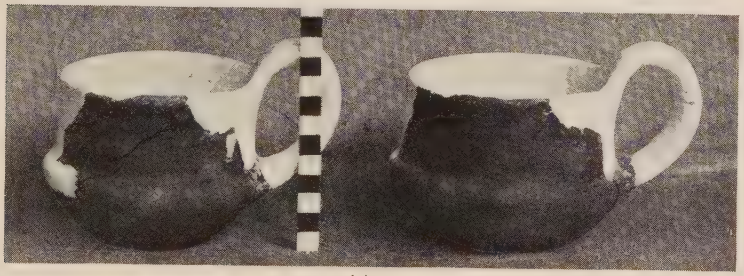
IX. 21 (2). SCALE 1 : 6

(*a*) & (*b*) MYCENAEAN AND SUB-MYCENAEAN. (*c*) IMPRESSED DECORATION.

VARDARÓFTSA: POTTERY, PERIOD C.



(*a*)



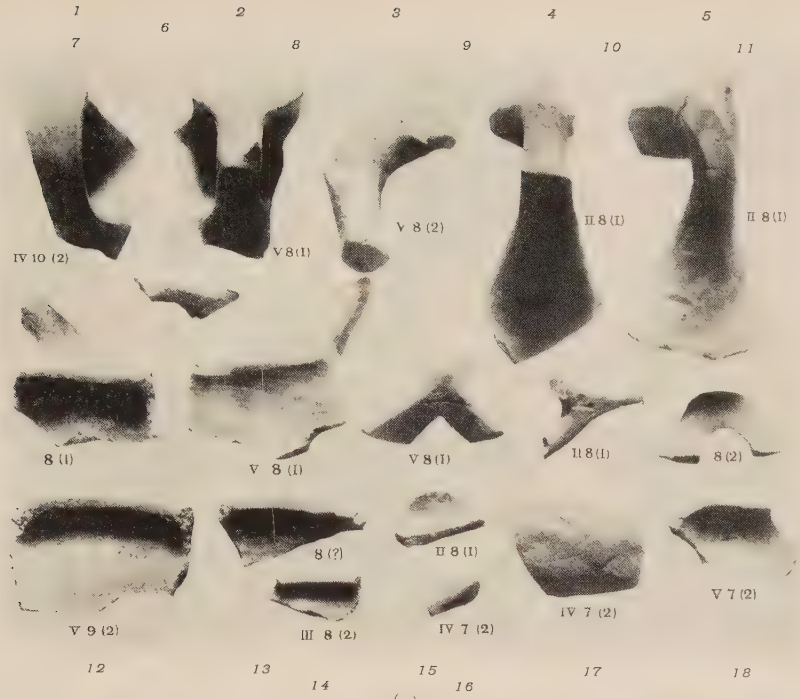
V. 10 (1) (*b*) VI. 10 (1)

V. 9 (2) V. 11 (1) V. 10 (1)

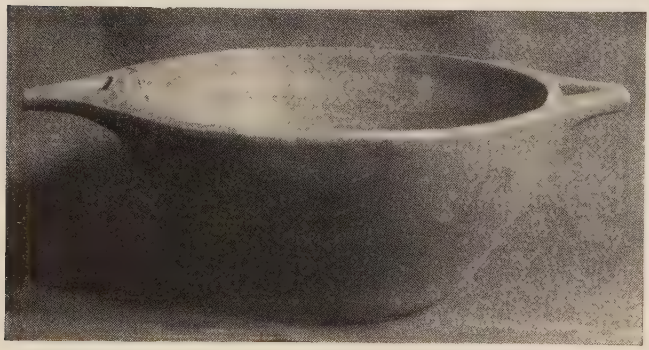
(*c*)

(*b*) Danubian. (*c*) 1 & 2, Danubian, 3, Monochrome Undecorated (A1). 1 & 3, Restored. Scale 1 : 3

Vardaróftsa: Pottery, Period C (Burnt Layer).

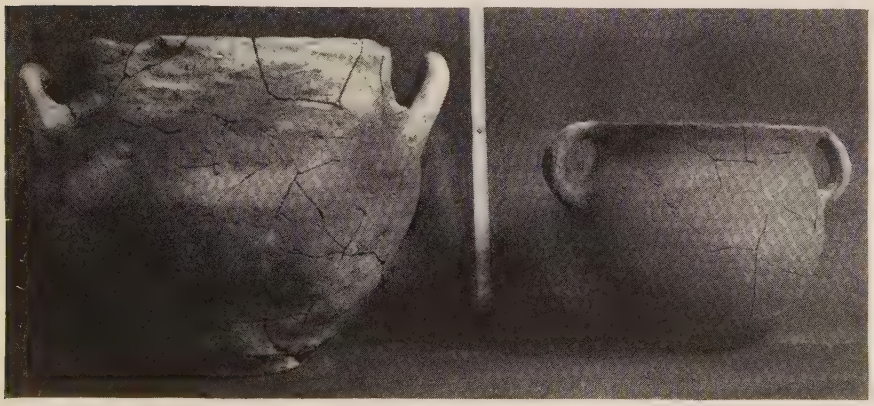


(*a*)



II. 7 (1)

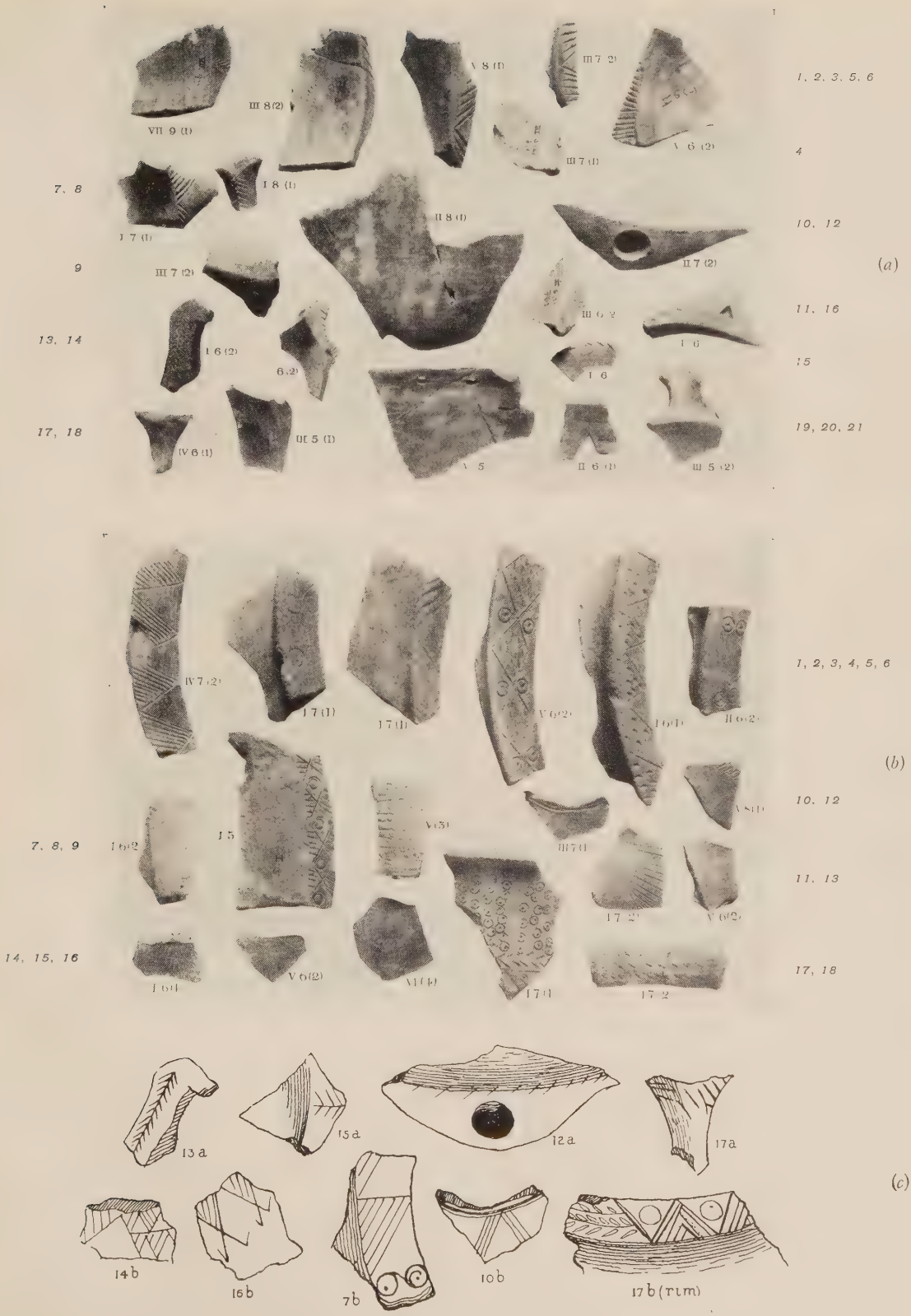
(*b*) Bowl (A1γ) with Narrow Rim, Restored.



V. 5. II. 5.

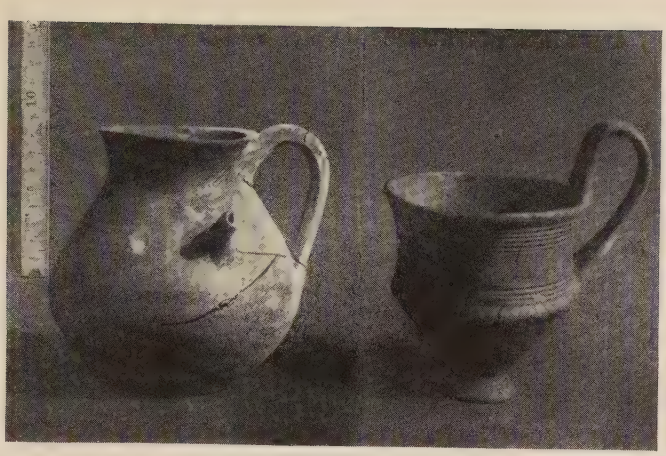
(*c*)

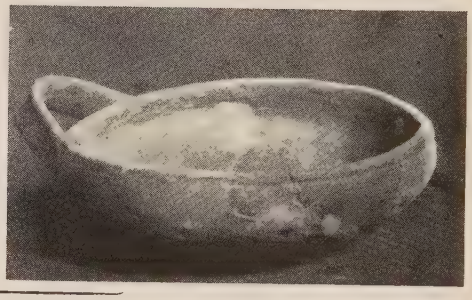
(*a*) & (*b*) Monochrome Undecorated (A1); Scale 1 : 4. (*c*) Coarse Ware; Scale 1 : 7.
Vardaróftsa: Pottery, Period D.



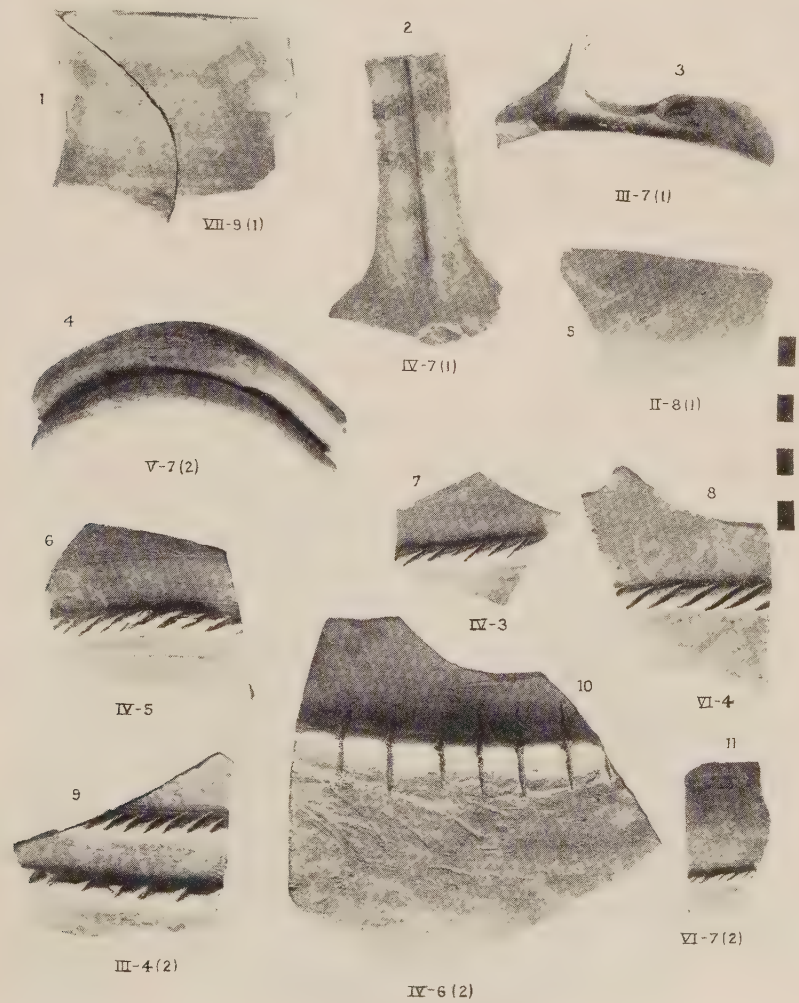
) & (*b*) Fifth (D1) and Sixth Incised (D2); Scale 1 : 5. (*c*) Details of Incised Decoration (D2).

Vardaróftsa : Pottery, Period D.





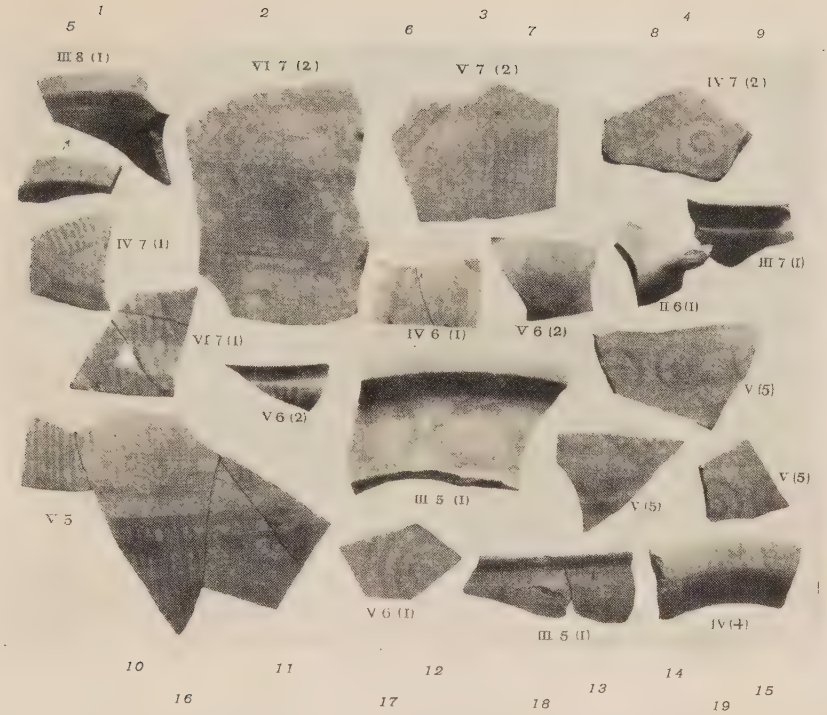
2 1 (a) 3



(b)

(a) 1, Grey Monochrome (D3); 2, 3, Glazed Ware (D5); Scale 1 : 4. 3, From Chauchitza.
(b) 1, 5, Glazed Ware (D5); 2—4, Matt-painted (D4); 6—11, D3 and D5.

Vardaróftsa: Pottery, Period D.



(*a*) Matt-painted (D4) ; Scale 1 : 5.

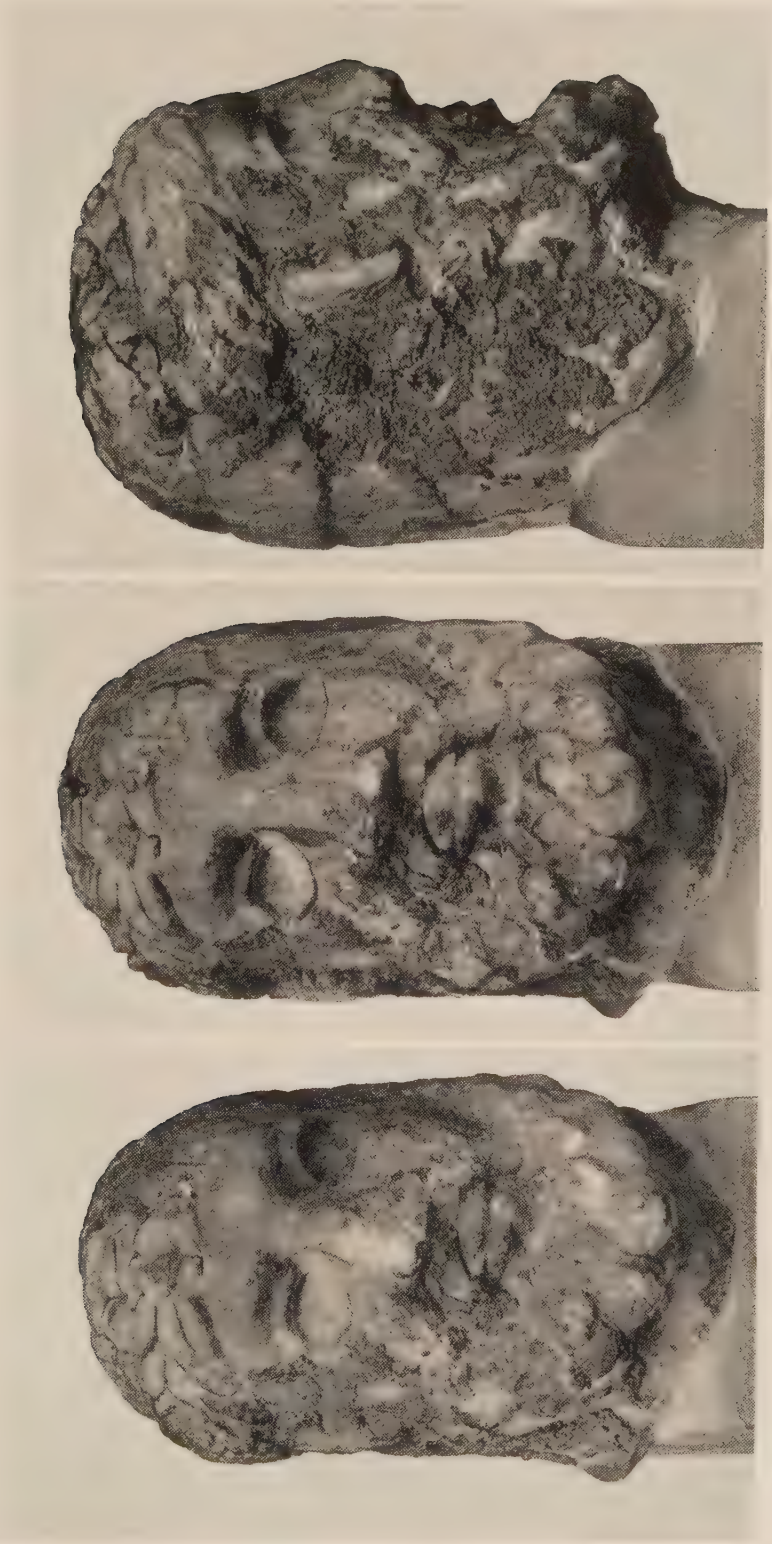
(*b*) Hellenic. Scale 1 : 4.

Vardaróftsa : Pottery, Period D.

1—7, Hellenic, and Local Imitations (?); 8, Scraped Ware (D6).

Profiles of 2 and 6.

Vardaróftsa: Pottery, Period D.



Crowned Head from Mesopotamia (British Museum).

No. 9.

No. 5.

No. 8.

No. 15.

No. 13.

No. 14.

Arcadian Bronzes in Athens and Berlin.

Scale: Nos. 8 & 9, *c.* 3 : 4; Nos. 5, 13, 15, 4 : 5.; No. 14, *c.* 5 : 6.

No. 22A.

No. 27.

No. 27.

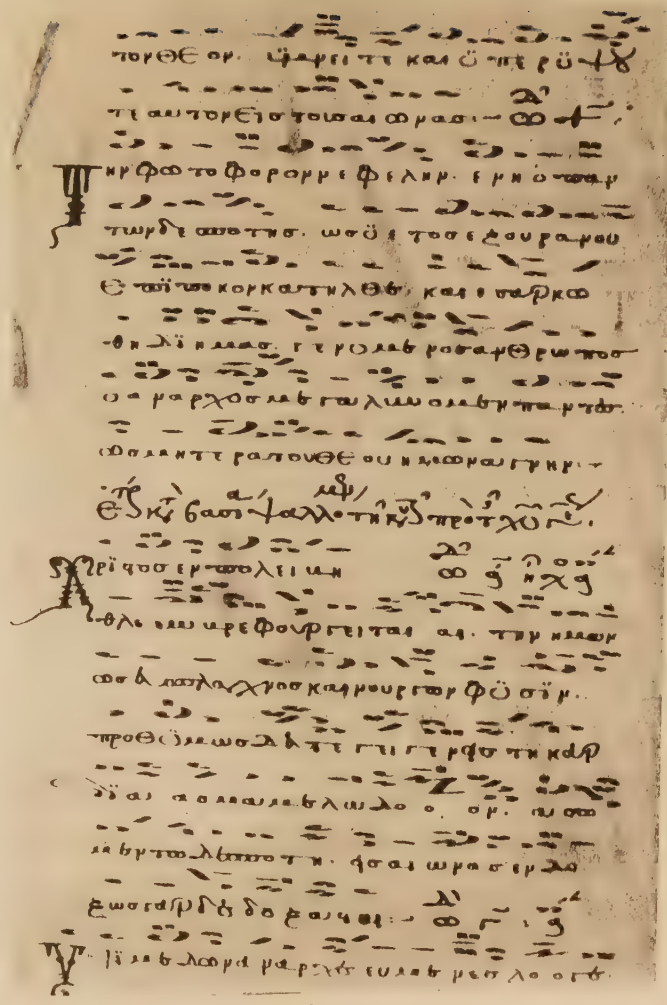
No. 36.

No. 35.

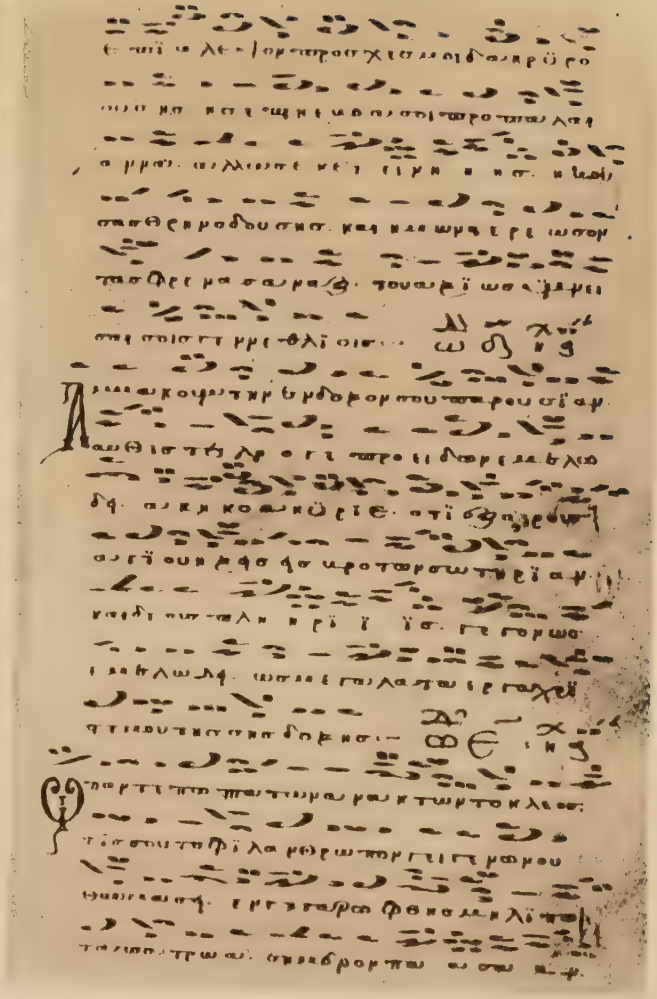
No. 29.

ARCADIAN BRONZES IN ATHENS AND BERLIN.

SCALE: NOS. 22A, 29, 36, *c.* 3 : 4; NO. 27, 4 : 5; NO. 35, 1 : 2.

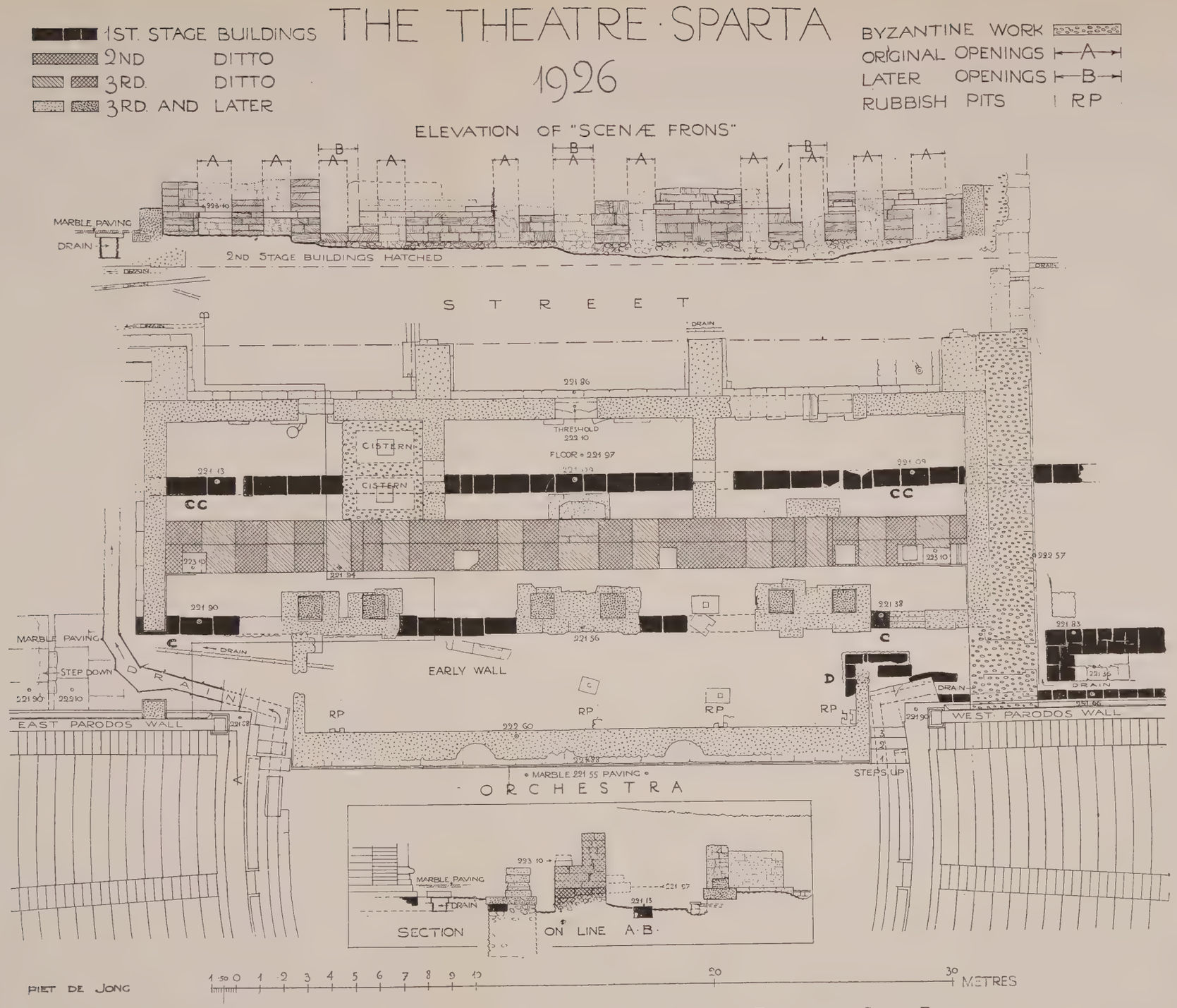


f. 7b

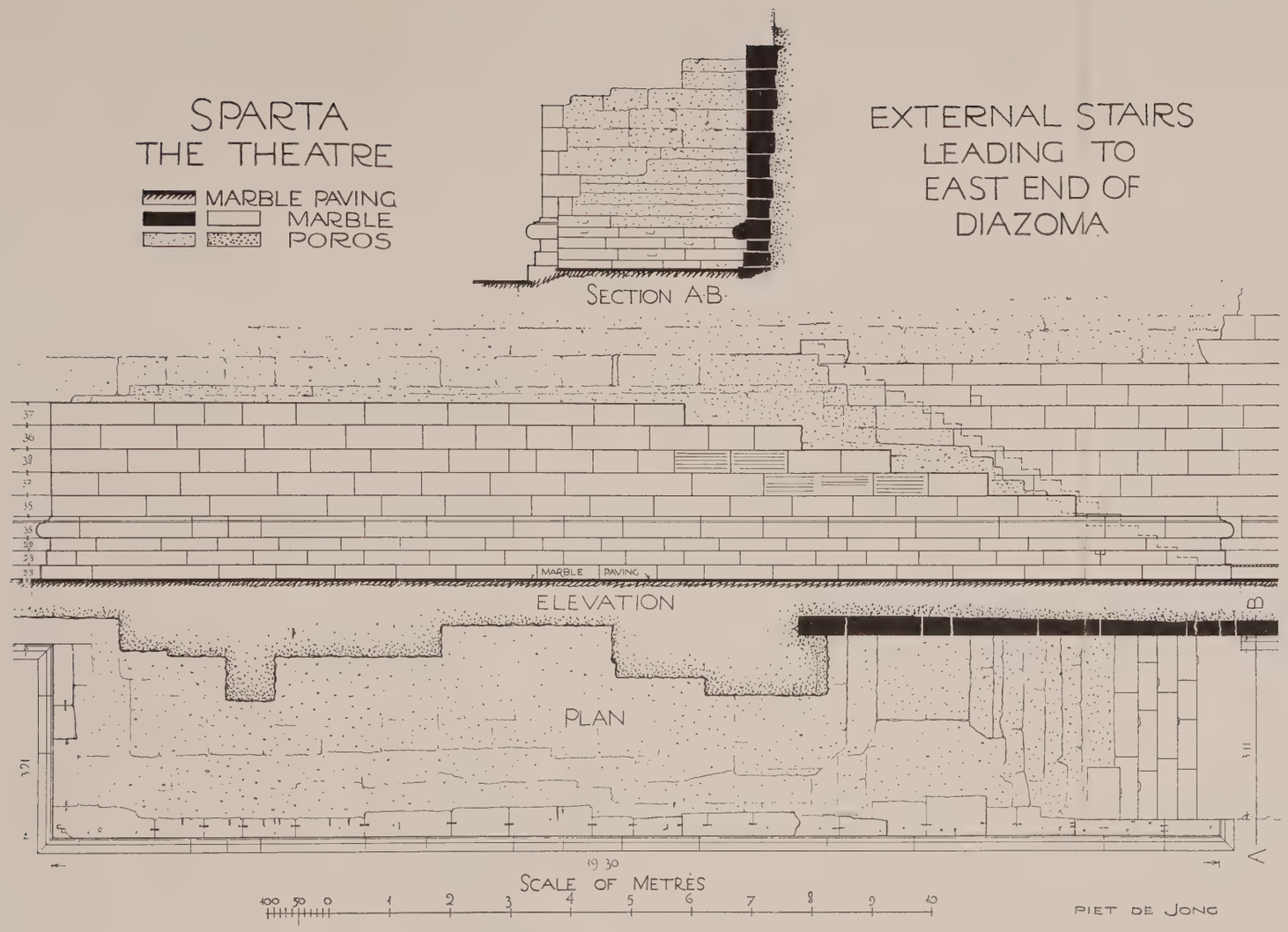


f. 8

BYZANTINE MUSIC: CODEX CRYPTOFERRATENSIS, E.γ.II.



Excavations at Sparta. The Theatre: General Plan of Stage and Elevation of *Scenae Frons*.



Excavations at Sparta. The Theatre: Plan, Elevation and Section of East External Staircase.

Excavations at Sparta. The Theatre: View of Stage Buildings from the West (1926).

Excavations at Sparta. The Theatre: East External Staircase (from the South).

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